







William Davison
THE

CRAFTSMAN.

BY
CALEB D'ANVERS,
of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

VOL. IV.



LONDON. Printed for R. FRANKLIN, in
Ruffel-Street, Covent-Garden. M,DCC,XXXI.

DA

500

C84

v. 4



T H E CRAFTSMAN.

N^o 125. SATURDAY, November 23, 1728.

Ces Considerations, qui etoient assez fortes des deux cõtës, porterent enfin les deux Rois a prêter l'oreille aux Sollicitations du Duc de Bourgogne, qui les pressoit de consentir à une TREVE, afin de pouvoir plus tranquillement travailler à la Paix. Il fut convenu que la Negotiation se feroit a Tours, où le Roy Charles faisoit sa Residence ; quoi qu'il semblât par là que les Anglois allassent la mendier. En tout autre temps la simple Proposition de traiter à Tours auroit été capable de rompre tout. Mais le Conseil de Henry n'etoit plus si delicat. Il vouloit la Treve, à quelque prix que ce fût, & rien ne paroissoit honteux pour parvenir à ce but. On verra même tout à l'heure, que tout étoit presque conclu en secret, avant que les Ambassadeurs partissent pour se rendre à Tours. Cette Treve, qui paroissoit fondée sur le bien public, n'étoit proprement destinée, que pour le soutien des Ministres, qui n'avoient rien moins en vüe que l'avantage du Royaume.

RAPIN Hist. d'Angleterre, Vol. IV. P. 119.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



S I have a sincere Regard for the Welfare of my Country, and heartily wish for a lasting and honourable Peace, nothing gives me a greater Concern than the late repeated Accounts, in our News Papers, of the Project of a Truce, which they pretend is now in Agitation at Soissons. Nay,

VOL. IV.

A

some

some of them have gone so far as to print an Heap of unintelligible Stuff, which they have the Assurance to call the *Articles* of it.

I am very glad to find that you, Mr. D'Anvers, dissent from your Brother-Writers in This, as well as in other Particulars; and look upon all such Intelligence and Reports, as groundless and fictitious; the Invention of some ill-disposed Persons, who endeavour to sow Discontents in the Minds of the People, by persuading them that all our late solemn Assurances and wise Negotiations will, at last, end in nothing but a *meer Cessation, a precarious, temporary Suspension of Hostilities.*

In This, Sir, you have given us a fresh Proof of your Regard for the Memory of our late gracious Sovereign, and the Honour of his present excellent Majesty; who both seemed to make a solid, lasting and honourable *Peace* the ultimate End of their Designs, as appears from several royal Speeches and Declarations from the Throne. In This you likewise do Justice to the Conduct of the late, as well as of the present Parliament; who have granted such *large Supplies* for obtaining this desirable End; and in This you lastly vindicate the Character of a *certain Minister*, who hath so often made Himself answerable for the Success of our Negotiations in the Method, in which they have been hitherto carried on, and are still pursued. My Concern for this *incomparable Person* and his *illustrious Family*, oblige me to take particular Notice of this Instance of your Candour; and I hope it will appear of your Justice. Some discontented People, indeed, are apt to think that we might have helped ourselves more effectually than we have been helped by *others*; and if we should obtain a *Peace*, after some Years more spent in Negotiation, I doubt not their Malice will be ready to suggest that we took the *longest*, the most *expensive*, the most *dangerous*, and the least *honourable Method* of obtaining it. But if we should, after all, be forced to
com-

compound for a *Truce*, I tremble to think what will be said of *HIM*, who hath given so many Assurances of better Things, and of *Those*, who ventured the Honour and Welfare of the Nation upon his *Parole*.

If all the great Advantages, which were proposed by these Negotiations, could be as effectually obtained by a *Truce*, as by a formal Treaty of *Peace*, it would be ridiculous to dispute about *Names* or *Forms*. But I am afraid the Case is very different, and that *those Persons*, who seem most fond of *this Project*, are least inclinable to procure us that Satisfaction, which we had Reason to expect, and hath been so often promised us by a *Peace*.

In order to form a better Judgment of This, let us cast our Eyes a little back and reflect on the Circumstances and Transactions of a few Years past.

If we may give any Credit to the *late Enquiry* (a Book, which was acknowledged to contain the Sense of the *Ministry* at that Time) the true Design of the Treaty of *Vienna* was not only to rob us of our *Trade* and wrest *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, but to obtrude the *Pretender* upon us; which was stipulated, as it was confidently affirmed, by a *secret Article*; though the *Emperor* indeed thought fit to disown any such Design in a formal *Memorial*, for which his *Minister* was ordered to depart out of the Kingdom; and therefore, I confess, I am very unwilling to believe that his *Imperial Majesty* had any just Reason to complain of a *false Accusation*. But however That might be, it is certain that these Apprehensions engaged us in a *Counter-Alliance*, and have ever since put us to a vast Expence both by *Sea* and *Land*, in order to prevent such terrible Evils. Our *Armies* and our *Taxes* have been necessarily encreased. Our *Manufactures* have gradually declined. The most beneficial Branches of our *Trade* have been interrupted; and our *Merchants* have sustained the heaviest Losses; not to mention the

Death of *two brave Admirals* and the terrible Destruction of our *Sailors*, who lay rotting by Thousands in the *West-Indies*. What therefore could we expect less, from a successful Negotiation, than that the *Emperor* and the *King of Spain* should consent to a solemn Cassation of the *Treaty of Vienna*; or at least of the *secret Article*, in Favour of the *Pretender*; that if the Erection of an *East-India Company* at *Ostend* be contrary to *Treaties*, as we have been assured, his *Imperial Majesty* should be obliged absolutely to revoke his *Charter* and abolish *that Company*; that his *Catholick Majesty* should, in like Manner, *once more* give up all Claims and Pretensions, of what Kind soever, to *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*; that He should restore our *Commerce* upon its ancient Foundation, and make our Merchants full Reparation for all their *Losses*? This would indeed be an *honourable* and *advantageous Peace*. It would enable his Majesty, in Conjunction with our Representatives in Parliament, to ease his People, agreeably to his own gracious Inclinations, by reducing the present Number of his *Forces*, and consequently the great Burthen of our present *Expences* and *Taxes*. It would give fresh Life to our *Manufactures* and *foreign Commerce*; create Chearfulness in our *Merchants*, *Tradesmen* and *Artificers*; effectually preserve the Honour of his Majesty, and retrieve the ancient Glory of *Great-Britain*,

But I cannot well conceive how all or any of these salutary Ends can be obtained by the pretended Project of a *Truce*; which does not seem to include, either in the general Acceptation of the Word, or from any Account that we have yet received of it, the Cassation of any *Treaties* or *secret Articles* whatsoever; the Disavowal of any *Designs*, or the Renunciation of any *Claims*; but only the *Suspension* of them for a Time, till the Disputes about them can be better adjusted; or, which perhaps may happen to be the Case, till our

Ene-

Enemies find a more convenient Opportunity of resuming the *one* and putting the *other* in Execution.

I am therefore strongly confirmed in your Opinion, that all these continued Reports and pretended Advices about a *Truce* have no Manner of Foundation, but are either the malicious Inventions of *Jacobites* and *Malecontents*, or the vile Stratagems of *Brokers* and *Stock-Jobbers* to sink *publick Faith* and serve *private Views*. I am resolved, at least, not to give any Credit to them, till They are confirmed by *Authority*; for I do not think myself obliged to believe every Thing that *News-Writers* tell us; especially, since it is notorious that the *Congress* was not originally projected and opened for this Purpose; and I have a better Opinion of our *Ministers* and *Allies*, than to imagine that They will think it reasonable for us to be contented with any *Scheme of a Peace*, which will not, in some Measure, relieve us from the present Load of *Debts*, *Armies* and *Taxes*.

But if it should, at length, appear from such an *Authority*, as no good Subject can refuse to believe, that the Obstinacy of our Enemies and our own unhappy Circumstances should oblige us to accept of some Accommodation of this Nature, for the present; I am confident that it will be quite different from what these News-Writers endeavour to alarm us with; and that it will hardly bear even the *Name* of a *Truce*; which hath something disagreeable in the very Sound of it, and is more often concluded, upon sudden Emergencies in the Field, before a *Treaty* can be enter'd upon, than after a Course of *Negotiations* for several Years, and even a *formal Congress*, opened with *Preliminaries*, solemnly agreed upon by the Parties concerned.

But whatever Issue these Negotiations may have, there is *one Thing* in the Conduct of the *British Ministry*, which certainly deserves the highest Applause.

I mean the particular Care, which They have taken, not to give any Offence either to our *Enemies* or our *Friends*. Their *Instructions* to the Commanders of our Ships and Squadrons in the *West-Indies* have been *strict, particular and explicit*; so that They could not possibly misunderstand or pretend to misunderstand them; nor is it only *of late*, or in the Pursuance of the *Preliminaries*, that our Squadrons have been thus prudently inactive; for Admiral *Hoyer* was sent to the *West-Indies*, and the *Galleons* might have been seized long before the *Preliminaries* were settled; upon which indeed it hath been asked, whether *such a Pledge* in our Hands would not have had more Influence on the Counsels of *Spain*, than even all the good Offices of *France* itself; or whether we should not have shewn our pacifick Dispositions with a better Grace and to more Effect, after such an Instance of Power and Resolution. — But These are over curious and fallacious Questions; for by this tender Conduct we have put it out of the Power of our Enemies to complain of any Provocations, that we have given them by taking *their Ships*; nor can our *Allies* form any just Pretence for deserting us on *that Account*. Whereas it is plain, from the Conduct of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, that their Orders from the Court of *Madrid*, for Want of such *able Ministers*, were so *dark, injudicious and equivocal*, that They did not know what to make of them; from whence it proceeds, that scarce a Week passes without some Account of the Capture of *English* Ships in those Parts; and we have been lately told that not being content with their Outrages at Sea, They have ventur'd to come boldly into our very *Ports* and carry off our Merchantmen, even in the Sight of our *Men of War*. If the Papers, for these last three Years, had not been full of such Accounts, and we did not, every Day, see many Traders, who have been ruined, and their Families reduced to

Misery

Misery by these Captures, I could scarce have believed that the *Spaniards*, so much our Inferiors at Sea, would have Resolution enough to provoke us by such Injuries; but They seem to depend on the scrupulous Regard of our *Ministers* to their Stipulations, as well as to the passive Acquiescence of our *Merchants*. I call it only by a soft Name; because if the Merchants will not complain in a proper Manner, They must suffer. The Loss is theirs; and if They please, They may wave the Benefit of *Letters of Mart*, which our own Laws, as well as the Law of Nature and Nations, have so fully and effectually given them.

It is somewhat surprizing indeed that for so long a Time, under such heavy and severe Losses, after so many disgraceful Seizures against the Honour and Dignity of the *British* Nation, no Application should have been made to *those Persons*, whose Business it is to receive Complaints and redress Grievances; for it is otherwise impossible that *Letters of Mart and Reprizal* should not have been granted to Multitudes of People; since no Minister, I believe, would attempt to prevent their being granted in Cases of gross Violence and Injustice; for *Letters of Mart* are the only Methods that sovereign States can take to do Justice to their Subjects when, upon previous Application, the Person injured cannot obtain Satisfaction. It is frequently practiced by Princes, the most hearty in their Friendships and most united in their Interests, in Times of the most settled and profound *Peace*; but in Time of *War*, or, what is worse, an *unfaithful Cessation*, it would be Disaffection, in the highest Degree, even to suspect the least Possibility of their being refused.

As the Laws therefore have pointed out a proper Method of Redress and confirmed to the Subject a Right, which the Law of Nature and Nations hath given Him; if the Merchant will be negligent or tame, He must thank Himself. His own Ruin and
That

That of his Family lies intirely upon Himself, and he is the Author of his own Misfortunes; for any Man, who hath read our own Histories and Those of other Nations, must know how dangerous the Neglect of *maritime* Affairs hath been to *Ministers*. The not guarding of the Seas was made an Article of High-Treason against the Duke of *Buckingham*; and a *Dutch Admiral*, if I be not mistaken, was put to Death for neglecting the Care even of *one Ship* under his Convoy. No *Minister*, who considers the Nature of Trade, the Loss of Shipping, the Confinement, Desertion or Destruction of Sailors, can be ignorant that the Denial of a Thing, which is the Birthright of the Subject, the constant Practice of all Nations even in *peaceable* Times, and the only Means to secure our Trade, must be greatly dangerous to *Himself* and most certainly destructive to the *Nation*; but all Apprehensions of being refused this Justice, under the *present Ministry*, are still more ridiculous; since it cannot be forgot that they invited the Merchants to apply to them for it in a publick Advertisement in the *Gazette* above a Year ago; and we have been lately assured that *Commissions* have been actually granted to the *East-India Company* for taking all *Offend* Ships that they meet beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*; and therefore as our *West-India* Trade is undeniably of much greater Advantage to the Nation, and our Enemies, who swarm there in great Numbers, have taken Multitudes of our Ships, which the *Offenders* never attempted to do, our *American* Merchants cannot doubt of having the same Justice done them, though not *incorporated*, which the *East-India Company* have had, provided they make the same Application.

If what the Merchants affirm be true, that the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies* have taken from us to the Value of near *two Millions*; and if our *Plantation-Trade*, as some knowing Men assert, be the best Trade
we

we have at present, they will no doubt represent their Losses and make proper Application for Redress, which our *own Ministers* are, I dare say, ready to grant them and which cannot certainly give Umbrage to any of our *Allies*.

I cannot help observing, what is pretty extraordinary, that the *Spaniards* have not taken any *French* Ships. I think This very surprizing, since the *French* are so zealously attached to our Interests, and so warm in Favour of the *Hanover Alliance*. The Loss indeed hath fallen altogether on our own Countrymen, and principally on the Gentlemen of our *Plantations*; who, considering their Circumstances in *other Respects*, seldom want the Assistance of a *foreign* Enemy to distress them. Their Case is often like That of the *flying Fish*. The Moment He gets out of the Water to avoid the *Dolphin*, He finds Himself attacked by a *Sea-Bird* and is devoured. But they may be now sure of having Redress; that is, Reparation for the *past*, and a Security against *future* Injuries. They will certainly be allowed the Liberty of doing themselves Justice, if they apply for it; and will no more have the Provocation of being told by their *Governors*, as *Livy* says the *Latins* were once insolently told by the *Romans*, *that though they were invaded they should not defend themselves, but must wait for Assistance from Rome*.

C. A.

I am, S I R, &c.

W. RALEIGH.

I shall

I shall make no other Apology for the Vanity, which I may seem guilty of in publishing the following Letter, than assuring the Reader it is *genuine*, and that I do it in Compliance with the repeated Importunity of a *fair Correspondent*.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq*;

Dear CALEB,

I Constantly read your Paper with Admiration. Methinks I hear you speaking to all Ages, and even triumphing over Death and Envy. When your Antagonists shall be extinct and forgotten, You shall live and instruct Posterity.

I was wrapt up in these agreeable Contemplations, when some Friends from the Country broke in upon them, and invited me away to *Duncan Campbell's*, the famous *dumb Oracle* of Great Britain. They were led only by foolish Curiosity; but I was resolved to make Use of this Opportunity to serve a deeper Design; and was surprized, with serious Pleasure, when he not only wrote down my own Name, but That of the Man, whom I most admire, the *Craftsman*. My Heart and Looks confess'd his kind Magick. I ask'd him a thousand Questions about you; particularly, *how long such a noble Spirit of Wit, Humour and Argument could be opposed?*—He wrote, to my infinite Joy, *that you would be victorious in the Year 1729; from that Time to the End of all Time*. I was never more sensibly pleased, than with the Answer of this *dumb Oracle*, who hath more Wit and Truth, in my Apprehension, than most of our *modern Speakers*, so highly applauded for their *Eloquence*.

I then

I then asked him several political Questions; particularly, *when the Negotiations at Soissons would be concluded; and whether it would be to the Satisfaction of all Parties?* He shook his Head, and wrote that the *Craftsman would triumph in the Year 1729.* I likewise asked some Questions about the *national Debts, the sinking Fund, Prince Frederick, and several other popular Topicks;* but still his Answer was, *that you would certainly gain your Point in 1729.*

I perceived a visible Pleasure in his Countenance at the Delivery of this Answer; which increased every Time He repeated it; and knowing Him to be a Man of a wonderful, prophetick Genius, cannot help congratulating both you and my Country on the Approach of this *propitious Year.*

For my Part, I wonder that so *great a Man* should have no better a Place than his own Elbow Chair, in an Age that is so remarkable for distinguishing *Merit.* He would certainly become the highest Employments. He is not to be flattered or bribed into *false Predictions.* He hath an happy Mixture of *Gravity and Gayety.* He is learned by *Nature;* and is master of all the Arts and Sciences, without toiling after them. His Form is graceful, and his Features speak for Him without any other Language. But his sincere Admiration of you is to me beyond all his other Charms.

In short, Sir, He is a *true, genuine Conjurer,* and none of your *false, lying, wooden Oracles of LYN or DODONA,* whom you have lately cudgell'd, in so handsome a Manner, with one of their own *Branches.*

Were I a Prince, I would retain him, with an handsome Salary, for the Discovery of future Events; which would save a great deal of *Mismanagement,* and be of the utmost Advantage to *Great Britain.*

I must have the Pleasure of shewing you this extraordinary Man next *Saturday* at five. Permit me, Sir, to appoint the Day and Hour. He tells me that all the Planets will then be in harmonious Order; and
I shall

I shall there see *Apollo* in the House of *Mercury*. *Love* shall be there too, who waits for ever upon *Wit*, with,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

and Admirer,

FIDELIA.

P. S. This Philosopher casts Nativities and promises that all *Dangers* are over, unless a *certain vile Project* takes Place; of which he will satisfy you in Person on *Saturday* at the Hour appointed.



N^o 126. SATURDAY, November 30, 1728.



Think the Dispute about the *Liberty of the Press* is come to a short Issue; and my Adversaries seem reduced to a very unhappy Dilemma. They find, upon Trial, that the good Sense of the Town will never bear any direct Arguments against it; and yet they think themselves under an Obligation to invalidate, as far as lies in their Power, every Argument, which I have offered in its Defence. This lays them under a Necessity of flying to little Shifts, Subterfuges and Distinctions. They readily acknowledge that it is not only lawful and justifiable, but highly meritorious, to write against *wicked Ministers* and *corrupt Parliaments*; and therefore, say they, *those worthy Gentlemen* can never be sufficiently rewarded, who carried the *Freedom of Writing* to the utmost

utmost Latitude, during the four last Years of *Queen Anne*, because the *Ministers* and *Parliaments* of those Times were visibly engaged in Measures contrary to the true Interest of their Country; but the *present Ministers* and the *present Parliament* have visibly nothing at Heart but the *publick Good*; and therefore every Man, who presumes to censure or disapprove any of their Actions, is consequently an Enemy to his Country, and deserves the severest Punishment.

Now, if it is commendable to write against *wicked Men in Power*, as these Gentlemen admit, I should be glad to know by what Rule we are to conclude that *Ministers* are really *wicked*, or engaged in *bad Measures*; whether we are to be determined by private Judgment, or the general Opinion of the Publick, and the visible, ruinous Situation of Affairs; which to me seem the most reasonable Methods; or by the Assurances of *Ministers themselves*, their *venal Creatures* and *others*, who may be innocently deluded by them.

If we ask these Authors why it was justifiable to write with Freedom against *Ministers* and *Parliaments*, in the *Queen's* Reign, and not now; they think they confute us at once, by telling us that *those Ministers* had a Design of placing the *Pretender* upon the Throne, which cannot be said to be the Case of the *Ministers* at present, when the *Protestant Succession* is so firmly and securely established; as if a Design of bringing in the *Pretender*, were the *only bad Thing* a Minister can possibly be guilty of; or for which he can properly be denominated a *wicked Minister*. I have as warm a Concern for the *present Establishment*, in his Majesty's illustrious Family, as any of these ostentatious Writers; but I will venture to affirm, in Defiance of all Misrepresentation, that the utmost Security of the *Protestant Succession* is no convincing Proof of the good Conduct of any Minister, in other Respects, or of the Security of our *civil Liberties*, which at first contributed so

much to the *Protestant Succession*, and still makes it so truly valuable; for as I am ready to allow that it is scarce possible for a *free State* to subsist under a *Popish Head*; so it is plain that a People may lose their Liberties under a *Protestant Prince*. The King of *Denmark*, for Instance, is a very good *Protestant*; and yet his People are *Slaves*.

I do not insist upon This, from any Apprehensions at present; for we may repose the utmost Confidence in the royal Virtues of that great Prince, who now fills the Throne; and I hope that God will bless all his Descendants with the same wise and gracious Inclinations. I mention it only to shew that the *Protestant Religion* is not the *only Thing*, which a free People ought to contend for, nor any certain Evidence of their Happiness and Welfare in *other Particulars*.

This whole Argument, indeed, (that *former Ministers* were *wicked Ministers*; and that our *present Ministers* are quite the *contrary*) is nothing to the Purpose, with Relation to the *Liberty of the Press*; but is only a poor, fallacious, cowardly begging of the Question; for as the noble Author of the *Balancing Letter*, in the Reign of King *William*, justly observes; *it is unfair and dishonourable to press any Argument against an Adversary, which it may be improper or unsafe for him to answer.*

There is another Piece of Sophistry, to which these Writers have had Recourse. They have so much *Modesty*, or Regard for their *own Interest*, as to pretend that they abhor any Design of taking away the *Liberty of the Press*; and yet argue, with the same inconsistent Breath, that the *Manner*, in which it is at present exercised, calls aloud for some immediate *Restraint*; tho' I will defy them to point out any Method of restraining it, farther than it is at present, without giving such a Power to some *one Man*, or *Number of Men*, as will intirely and effectually destroy *all Liberty of this Kind*.
But

But as the World does not seem to be apprized of the *Restraints*, which are already put on the *Press*, it may not be improper just to touch upon that Subject.

In the first Place, it is restrained by the Laws of the Land, which prohibit *Libelling*, as well as other injurious Crimes, under certain Penalties adequate to the Nature of the Offence; and therefore to forbid the Publication of all Writings, but what are subject to the Examination of another (who will certainly be *partial*, and perhaps *ignorant*) under the Pretence of preserving the Reputation of innocent Men, is just as reasonable as if the Legislature should forbid the wearing of *Swords*, in order to prevent the *shedding of Blood*, because some Men have made Use of them for such Purposes.

Perhaps, I might add the *Manner of Prosecution* in these Cases as a farther Restraint on this Liberty. The Dread of *State Messengers*, and *Warrants*, which commonly extend not only to the Seizure of a Man's *Person*, but likewise his *Papers*, even Those, which concern his nearest Interests and the most secret Parts of his Life, are sufficient to keep Him within the Bounds of the *Law*; and, by intimidating *Booksellers*, *Printers*, *Publishers*, &c. frequently deprive Him of the Fruits or Design of his *Labours*. Besides, the Method of proceeding by *Information*, is not only the most *expensive*; but what, upon other Accounts, cannot be very agreeable to any *freeborn Englishman*. This is a Subject, which may, one Time or other, deserve our farther Consideration.

The *Stamp Duty* will, I presume, be allowed to be another *Restraint* on the *Press*; especially the late Act of Parliament relating to *Mercuries*, *Journals*, &c. but as it makes a very considerable Addition to the *publick Revenue*, no Writer ought to repine at it, since it may prove one Security of the *Press*, and perhaps not the least, by preventing even a *bad Minister* from doing a Thing, which may affect the Publick in so tender a

Point. I confess, I often reflect with a great deal of Pleasure, that even my poor Lucubrations carry a Sum of near *one thousand Pounds a Year*, upon this Article only, to the King's *Exchequer*; which makes me in some Measure a Benefactor to the Publick.

The *General Post Office*, which was established by Act of Parliament, for the common Benefit and Advantage of all the People of *England*, is, as it hath been lately managed, another considerable *Restraint* on some particular Kind of Writings; for, unless I am very much misinform'd, the *Clerks of the Post Office* (who seem to be a Sort of *licensed Hawkers* over the whole Kingdom) have received strict and repeated Injunctions not to send any of *our Papers* to their Country Correspondents; who make daily Complaints that this *Journal* is suppressed, as the *Clerks* inform them, by *Authority* and *others*, calculated for quite different Purposes, are sent to them instead of the *Craftsman*, contrary to their Directions.

It might, perhaps, be no improper nor unreasonable Task to enquire by what Authority, or for what Reason, this extraordinary Privilege of making a Trade of FRANKING is given to the *Clerks of that Office*; for, upon the strictest Review of the Act of Parliament, I cannot meet with any Clause to this Purpose; and I never yet heard that it is by Virtue of the King's *Sign manual*; and therefore it seems to be not only unwarrantable by Law, but greatly prejudicial to his Majesty's Revenue, as well as very unreasonable at a Time, when all the Funds are scarce sufficient to defray the Expences of the Government, and yet the People cannot easily bear any more.

The Privilege of *franking*, granted to *Members of Parliament*, is not without Reason; it being presumed that their *Electors* may have frequent Occasions to write to Them on Affairs of publick Concern; but to put every little Clerk of the *Post-Office* upon a Par with *British Legislators* is an Indulgence, which I
con-

confess myself at a Loss to account for; unless it be with a Design of propagating *one Kind of Writings* over the Kingdom and suppressing *others*.

It hath been often alledged against my Arguments, in Behalf of the *Liberty of the Press*, that I fight without an Adversary and that all Dangers of this Kind are the fictitious Product of my own jealous Imagination. I am very glad to hear such a *Design* so sturdily denied; though I confess that some *late Proceedings*, as well as *Writings* on this Subject, did make no small Impression upon me; and I believe the warmest Friends of the present Government could not behold them without the same Apprehensions. The Author of the *London Journal* hath more than once insisted that all Writings against *Men in Power*, which do not amount to a *legal Accusation*, are *Calumny* and *Sedition*, and therefore ought to be suppressed; though he happened very inadvertently to own that He had *formerly written against Men in Power and would do it again, whenever they acted contrary to the Interest of their Country*; which is a flat Contradiction to his own Doctrines; unless He can demonstrate, as He hath been challenged to do, that his *former Writings* amount to *full Proof, Witnesses and Evidence*; a Point, which He hath not yet attempted to prove, and which I once more defy Him to do.

But He is not the only Author, who hath thought fit to write in this Manner; for whoever will give Himself the Trouble of reading a late Discourse, entitled, *The Doctrine of Libels discussed and examined*, &c. will find all the tyrannical Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber* and of the most arbitrary Reigns recommended as proper *Precedents* to be exerted against Writers at present; though it is well known that those Proceedings contributed not a little to the tragical Death of *one King* and the absolute Ruin of *another*,

He tells us, in his *Preface*, that *this Book may serve as an Argument for the Liberty of the Press, as it*

now stands; since it shews the little Necessity of any farther Restraint upon it, by demonstrating that every one, who prints any Thing with a mischievous Intent, does it at his own Peril.

And, at the Conclusion, He sums up the whole Doctrine of *Libels* with these two worthy Maxims, by which He hath the Assurance to say that the *Dispensers of our Laws* have always been directed.

“ 1. That every Thing in Writing, which imported or implied, or was generally understood to import or imply *Reproach* or *Scandal*, to any Person or Persons whatever, was a *Libel*.

“ 2. And that the Punishment of a *Libeller* was never to be lessen'd on Account of the *Mystery* in his Satire; but always proportion'd to the Mischief done, or the Poison intended to be conveyed by it.

That is, every Thing is a *Libel*, which Men in Authority may think fit to call so, however dark or obscure or innocent it may be; and then the Judges, according to this worthy Author, have nothing else to do but *fine, imprison, whip, pillory, brand, slit Noses and cut off Ears*, in Imitation of their arbitrary Predecessors in former Reigns.

But I thank God, that We have Judges at present, who are as remarkable for their Humanity and tender Regard for our Constitution, as the Judges of some former Reigns were for a Spirit of Cruelty or slavish Dependance on Those at the Helm; and his Majesty's present *Solicitor General*, to whom this vile Piece is dedicated, is a Gentleman of such an excellent Disposition, as well as masterly Eloquence, that I am sure he will abhor any Attempt to revive the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, under this Government, which was found to be so grievous and of such terrible Consequence, that it was long ago abolished by Act of Parliament.

I shall conclude with a short Piece of Advice to my Brother Writers; and That is, not to give the least

Coun-

Countenance to any Innovations on the *Press*. Let us all stand up for the Cause of *Learning* in general, however we may differ in some particular Respects; and not suffer ourselves to be deluded by any plausible Pretences of guarding only against the *Abuse of Liberty*, when we have the least Reason to suspect that the Design may be against *Liberty itself*.

D.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THE great Genius, which discovered itself last Winter in the incomparable Dissertation upon the Letter *P* is now reviv'd. *Vanity* not the least Ingredient in us, who hunt after *Fame*, has now tempted him to rise from humble Prose, and try his Force a little higher in *Allegory* and *Verse*. We have this Information from a doughty Piece, lately published, called *The Oak and the Dungbill*; which bears the visible Marks of its Parent. For 'This you chastis'd him, and did him the Honour to intitle some Verses in your Paper, *a Sequel to the Oak and the Dungbill*.

Upon this Encouragement, a very ingenious Performance, and from the same Hand, stole into the Publick last Week; but not in the usual Form of publishing; for selling their Goods of this Sort in the Shops has been often try'd without Success; and therefore this Author was to insinuate into his Reader's Favour under the Cover of his Friends, or Acquaintance at least; and accordingly it was sent inclosed to Gentlemen in *Coffee-houses* and to their Houses. It was intitled, with great Modesty, *a better Sequel to the Oak and the Dungbill*. Now, Mr. D'Anvers, in my Opinion, should you go on to take Notice of these *Statelings*, who have nothing else to do but to write
and

and to talk idly, a very heavy Allegory may be kept alive till every Body is asleep; and while you employ your Pen in answering of *Trifles*, you may neglect Affairs of *Weight*.

However, you will give me Leave thus occasionally to send you a short Observation or two upon this *better Sequel*, as its Author calls it.—First, I think a *Landlord*, who should neglect his *Dunghill*, and chuse to sleep away his Time, under the Shade of an *old Oak*, would find his Flocks and his Farms in a very poor Condition, when he awaked.

I think an *Oak*, tho' never so sturdy a one, can be of little Use to the *Landlord* but from the Produce of it; and That cannot be till the *Axe has been laid to the Root of it*; and then and then only it can do him any real Service; its *Shade* and *fancy'd Protection* being rather an Encouragement to *Idleness* than of *real Use*; therefore this fine Allegory of the Dissertator upon *P.* is without Moral, Meaning or Sting.

What would an honest and a wise Farmer think and say, should he behold his good Landlord removing the *profitable* and *useful Improver* of his Estate from his Doors; and at the same Time employing all his Time in crowning an *Oak* with *Garlands*, and rejoicing in the Applause he received from the Meads and *Hedges*? But it is low, very low, meer wasting Time and Paper to criticise upon it. How ridiculous and awkward do People appear, who aim thus at being witty in Verse, when Nature has only given them the unenvy'd Talent of being dull in Prose?

I remember, some Years since, an old Cavalier, a very worthy Gentleman, who is my Neighbour in the Country, and had been wounded and taken Prisoner in the Battle of *Worcester*. This Gentleman, who had still a very loyal Heart, always kept open House by way of Thansgiving on that Day, on which his Master was preserved from his Enemies in the *Oak*. He was so warm in his Gratitude to the

Tree

Tree for its Care of Him, that he ordered a *Face-painter*, of whom he had an Opinion, for having drawn several very glaring Likenesses in his Family, to paint the History of it. “*You are a London Painter*, said “*he, and will do it well. Don’t let his Majesty stare thro’ the Oak, with a great Black Perruwig and a Face bigger than the Tree ; but touch it prettily ; you understand me.*” In a few Days the *Painter* brought home his Canvas, on which there was a Thing he design’d for an Oak, and some other Figures drawn for *Cavalier Hunters* on full Speed under it. The old Cavalier, as soon as he saw it, scowl’d, knit his Brows, and shook his Head ; — Sir, *what may you call This ?* It is the royal Oak, Sir. *And where is his Majesty, Sir ?* The small Artist had the old Joke ready, *within it, Sir. You know he is to take Refuge there ; and if he appears, the Rebels underneath, who are in Search of him, will certainly discover him.* Sirrah, replied the Cavalier, *but that I see, and every one must see that you lie most abominably, I would cudgel you roundly for presuming to make so great a Prince take Protection in so scrubbed a Tree ; a Tree, that has harbour’d for several Years numberless Vermin, and which is itself the CORRUPTOR and the CORRUPTED.*

R.

I am, Sir, &c.

SATURDAY,



N^o 127. SATURDAY, December 7, 1728.

An ISTE unquam de se bonam spem habuisset, nisi de vobis malam opinionem imbibisset? quo majore etiam si fieri potest, apud vos odio esse debet, quam est apud Populum Romanum, cum in Avaritiâ, Scelere, Perjurio vos sui similes esse arbitratur. CIC.



Though the Methods, by which a State may lose its Liberties, appear to be various; yet, upon a close Examination, we shall find all national Misfortunes generally owing to one, great original Source; and That is, when every Individual comes to consider Himself distinctly and apart from the Community, of which He is a Member; and is continually employing all his Parts and Talents on Means of obtaining to Himself Wealth, Power, Preferment or Titles; instead of advancing the Welfare and Happiness of his Country; when his Mind is contracted to such narrow, selfish Views, that He hath no large Notions of Virtue, or generous Sentiments of the publick Good; but confines every thing to Himself, and thinks that He hath answered the End of his Creation, if He improves his own Fortune, and advances the Interest of his Family and Relations.

The best Way therefore to preserve a Constitution is to endeavour to inculcate such Notions, as tend to persuade every Man that He is but a Member of Society; that He can no more subsist alone than a Limb, when it is torn from the rest of the Body; that our Good is inseparably connected and complicated with That of others.

When

When such Notions generally prevail in Men of different Stations, from the *first Minister of State* to the *meanest Artizan* in the Kingdom, we may expect to see the Honour and Interest of the Nation advanced to the highest Pitch of Glory; but when, instead of This, almost every Man thinks of nothing but his own Interest; and especially when *Those in Power* have no other View, what can be expected but universal Corruption, Subserviency, and a total Dissolution of all Principles of Virtue, Liberty and Honour?

In this Situation, every Man measures the good or bad State of Things from his own Condition. If he prospers, it is no Matter what becomes of the rest of Mankind. If He is dissatisfied, the Publick is injured of course, and Affairs are strangely managed. From hence arise two very odd Animals; in my Opinion equally mischievous and contemptible. The *One* is the *pretended Patriot*, who hath no other Motive for assuming that Name than *private Disappointments*. The other is the *sordid Wretch*, who votes through thick and thin with an Administration, at the same Time that He is sensible they are acting directly against the Interest of his Country, and doing every thing contrary even to his *own Principles*.

If *private Interest* ought to be the ultimate End of all our Desires, how can we wonder to hear of *constant Robberies* in our Streets? Pray, where is the Difference between taking a *Bribe* and taking a *Purse*? Is it not the same wicked Principle, which operates on both Parties? Though the *open Thief* indeed is the less criminal, because he boldly ventures his Life to rob another of his Property; whereas the *corrupt Person*, who clandestinely sells his Conscience and Honour, may probably endanger the *Property* and *Liberty* too of all his Fellow-Subjects.

There is a Difference between a *Bribe* and a *Pension*. A *Bribe* is given for a particular *Job*. A *Pension* is a *constant* and *continual Bribe*; so that the *Jobber*

is a kind of *Day Labourer*; the *Pensioner* a domestick Servant, hired by the Year *to do all the dirty Business of the House*.

There is something very unaccountable and preposterous in the usual ministerial Method of distributing *Pensions*. The original Intention of them was, no doubt, for the Maintenance of such Persons as, by Misfortunes, were brought to Want, and put out of a Capacity of supporting themselves by Work or otherwise. To *These* the Crown used to extend its Charity; and generally proportioned the Largess to the *Necessity* or *Condition* of the Person, to whom it was given. But in the *political* Manner of giving them, (by strange, inverted Principles of Charity) the *Pension* is not suited to the *Want* of the Party, but given Him in Proportion to his *Abundance*; and is *less* or *larger*, according as He doth or doth not stand in need of it; for it would be esteemed an unpardonable Affront to offer any Person, who hath *ten thousand Pounds a Year*, a less Pension than *two* or *three*.

I have heard of a *young Nobleman* several Years ago, when this Practice was first gaining Ground amongst us, who complained very warmly of the *Treasurer*, of those Times, for allowing Him *too small* a Pension. *I shall let the great Man know, said He, that I am not a beggarly Lord; for though my Estate is not very large at present, it is a growing Estate; and therefore, if He depends on my Vote on all Occasions, I shall expect either to have my Pension enlarged, or to have it paid out of the Privy Purse, to prevent Deductions.*

A *Pension*, unless a Man is really in Want of the Necessaries of Life, is always scandalous. When it is given to the *Needy*, it is *laudable Munificence*; when to the *Rich* it is *infamous Corruption*.

For my Part, I could never look on these great *Pensioners* in any other Manner than as a sort of *tall, overgrown, Charity Children* belonging to the Court. I think They should be obliged to wear *Badges*; or at least

least They ought to be list'd with the *Band of Pensioners*; and stand in decent Order, on a *Sunday*, with their *red Coats* and *Partizans* in their Hands, as the King goes in Procession to Chapel.

There is one intolerable Thing, which is the unavoidable Consequence of large and numerous Pensions amongst the *Rich*; and that is cutting off Relief from the *deserving Poor*. It is impossible that the King's Revenue, large as it is, can do every Thing. How many worthy poor Wretches must therefore starve, whilst these greedy Cormorants are devouring what should sustain them? How many miserable Families must be reduced to the utmost Extremities for want of forty, fifty, or a hundred Pounds a Year; which is all swallowed up by one ravenous, good-for-nothing *Pensioner* of three or four Thousand?

There was a noble Charity given by Parliament itself near forty Years ago; who, when They settled the *civil List* on King *William*, granted fifteen thousand Pounds a Year for the Support of the *French Protestants*, who had taken Shelter in this Country and fled from Persecution in their own. They have ever since, and still daily continue to come from *France* and settle amongst us. To several of them we owe the Improvement and Establishment of many very useful *Manufactures*; so that the Nation is not only *peopled*, but hath greatly encreased its *Riches* by their Means; yet as there was some amongst them old, decrepid and past Work, the *Parliament* gave a Maintenance of fifteen thousand Pounds a Year to support them; and this Sum hath always been considered in the Grant of all the *civil Lists* since that Time; so that I may almost venture to call this Money their *own Property*; which no Person whatsoever hath a Power to divert or diminish; and the *Crown* itself is only, as it were, the Steward or Guardian for them; but *exorbitant Pensions*, and great Charges on the *civil List*, in other Articles, have frequently occasioned the post-poning of
 VOL. IV. C this

this Payment ; which hath ended, on a Demise of the Crown, with the Loss of the whole, and the starving many of these poor Objects, as well as our *own Tradesmen*, who have had large Sums due to them from the *civil List*.

I am confident that, for the future, They will regularly receive their whole fifteen thousand Pounds a Year ; for I apprehend that no Part of it can legally be taken from them, any more than the Property of any *Hospital*, or what is given by *Parliament* for the Maintenance of it, can be diverted to any other Use.

Besides ; how barbarous would it be ; what an unheard of Monopoly for five or six Men to engross what is sufficient to maintain so many ? And all This, that They may only have a few *Footmen* the more ; or perhaps a greater Number of *Horses* at *New-Market* ; or eat Delicacies in *gilt Plates* ; whilst these poor, distressed Creatures are perishing for want of the common Necessaries of Life.

The Picture I form to myself, on such an Occasion, is This. I fancy I see four or five hundred poor, old, lame, wrinkled Wretches sitting at a long Table, with a little homely Sustenance before them to support Nature, and carry on Life for a few remaining Years ; and just as they are beginning to feed, methinks I see an *insolent, proud Fellow* come strutting in, with six or seven Footmen behind him, whom He orders to drive these poor Creatures out of the Room, and carry all their Victuals to a favourite *Pack of Hounds*. Who can represent This to his Mind, without feeling the warmest Resentment ? And yet This is directly the Case of every *rich Man* in *England*, who basely stoops to take a *Pension* and robs the *Poor*, to feed and support some favourite Vice or Folly.

I will beg Leave to expostulate with such a Man, who meanly exposes his Reputation and Honour to the *little Clerk*, who pays Him quarterly his *Pension*, in the following Manner.

“ Are

“ Are you not ashamed to sell the Glory of all
 “ your Ancestors for a little, dirty Trash? Can you;
 “ without blushing, give up not only your own Ho-
 “ nour, but bring the *whole Body*, of which you are
 “ a Member, into Contempt? Do you not see your
 “ Country overwhelmed with *Debts*; the poor, la-
 “ bouring Countryman scarce able to get wherewithal
 “ to maintain Himself and his little Family by the
 “ Sweat of his Brows; the Artizan shutting up his
 “ Shop; Trade declining in general, and *You* wallow-
 “ ing in Luxury and Idleness? For Shame, relinquish
 “ that *Pension*, which, rightly distributed, might
 “ perhaps save Numbers of *better Men* than thyself
 “ from starving. Thy Country stands in Need of
 “ That, which Thou and others lavish away. *Taxes*
 “ need not be so heavy on the Poor, and *Trade* might
 “ revive, wouldst Thou be *uncorrupt*. Do for once,
 “ even with the *small Parts* Thou hast, a Service to
 “ thy Country. Go; give up the Wages of thy
 “ Servitude; and, by thy Example, render it shame-
 “ ful and a Reproach for others to take them; by
 “ which Means thou may’st be the Instrument of as
 “ much Good to thy Country as any of the best of
 “ thy Ancestors, who had perhaps ten Times thy
 “ Understanding.

“ Dost Thou not see the *Kingdom*, which we had
 “ once reduced, and hath almost constantly been an
 “ *Enemy* to us, reviving in Wealth; her Power en-
 “ creasing; and her Influence re-established in *Eu-*
 “ *rope*? And will you, by being a Load upon your
 “ *King and Country*, suffer yours to be still oppressed
 “ with *Debts*; and almost out of a Probability of re-
 “ covering; because you will not quit *That*, which is
 “ the support only of some extravagant Vice or
 “ ridiculous Folly? What a wide Difference must
 “ there be between a *Roman Soul*, and the Soul of
 “ such a Wretch? The *first Brutus* gave up his own
 “ *Sons* for his Country; and Thou wilt not give up

“ one unnecessary Expence, or favourite Passion for
 “ its Service.

“ If the Good of thy *Country* hath no Influence
 “ on thy Mind, surely a Love to thy *Royal Master*
 “ ought to move Thee to do a Thing, which may
 “ be for his Interest, and will certainly redound to his
 “ Honour. If the great Burthen on the *civil List*
 “ should ever make the Benevolence and Charity of
 “ the Crown less diffusive, than it hath usually been,
 “ who knows how it may affect the Minds of the
 “ People? Is it not possible for them to impute
 “ That to *other Causes*, which is properly the Effect
 “ only of thy voracious and corrupt Appetite? Thou
 “ devourest That, which should feed the Widow, the
 “ Orphan and the poor, unhappy Prisoners; and, by
 “ draining his Majesty's Coffers, deprivest Him, in a
 “ great Measure, of the Power of exerting his royal
 “ Inclinations to do Good.

Would all People follow my Example, I fancy there
 would soon be less ostentatious Pride and Vanity in
 the World; to support which, Men are tempted to
 do so many base Things. I confess, when I see any
 Man driving down to *Westminster* in a gilt Chariot,
 with a load of laced Fellows behind it, I always ask
 whether He hath any Thing, besides his *own Estate*,
 or an *useful and reputable Employment*. If I am told
 that He is a very *rich Man*, with a very *great Pen-*
sion, I never offer to pull off my Hat to Him; but
 pass regardless by, without paying him the least Re-
 spect. At the same Time, I would pull off my Coat
 and spread it cross the Kennel, to make a clean Way for
 a worthy Patriot, who was not ashamed to walk on
 Foot to *Westminster* for the Service of his Country,
 without expecting any other Reward for it, than the
 Pleasure and Satisfaction of having acted virtuously
 and done his Duty.

There was a worthy Instance of This in the Reign
 of *Queen Anne*; and what honest Man was there in
 the

the Kingdom, who did not rejoice when his shining Integrity was so remarkably rewarded with an Estate, which was left Him by *One*, who was a Stranger to his *Person*, but a Lover of his *Virtue*?

It was a noble Custom amongst the *Romans*, That of *adopting*; and, in this degenerate Age, it might perhaps be the Means of helping us to a few more honest Men than we have, though not of bringing us to the Pitch of *Roman* Virtue, if there was a little better Chance of getting something by being *honest*, as well as a moral Certainty of getting greatly by being a *Rogue*.

Honour is so essential to a *Man of Quality* that, by our Constitution, no stronger Averment is required of Him than *upon his Honour*; but who would trust the *Honour* of a Man, who hath basely given up the Reputation of his Integrity and Conscience by receiving a *Bribe*? — I remember a pretty Saying of the late Lord *Huntington*. King *William* insisted He should give Him his *Honour* that He would not fight a Man, who had given Him a *Box on the Ear*. His Lordship was obliged seemingly to comply; but as soon as He got out of the King's Presence, He fought the Man. The King was, at first, highly incensed at his breaking his Word with Him; and asked how He came to do so, when He had given him his *Honour*. Sir, reply'd my Lord, *you was in the Wrong to take such a Pledge; for at the Time I gave it You, I had no Honour to give.*

I shall make only two Remarks on this Story. *One* is, that there may be Times and Seasons, when a Man is not to be trusted *upon his Honour*, whatever Indulgence our Constitution may allow Him. The *other*, that a Man, of *true Honour*, will be as much ashamed to receive a *Bribe* as a *Blow*, and will resent both as equal Affronts.

C.



N^o 128. SATURDAY, December 14, 1728.

Non Equitem dorso, non Frænum depulit ore. HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



THAT I lately observed, concerning the pretended Project of a TRUCE, having been attacked in a very violent Manner by two *doubty Writers*; it cannot be improper to review a Subject, which is of the utmost Importance, at this Time, to the general Welfare of *Great Britain*.

The Author of the Letter in the *Daily Journal*, signed *Atticus*, who does not pretend to offer one Argument against me, but confines himself intirely to Scurrility and calling Names, cannot expect any Answer. Let Him scold on, at his *own Expence*, and vent his *courtly Billingsgate* as often and as freely as He pleases, without Interruption; for, to use the Words of his *Patron*, *I scorn to foul my Fingers* with such an Adversary.

The Author of the *British Journal* is not much behind him in his candid Imputations. *Malice, Revenge, Disappointment, Faction* and *Jacobitism* continue to be the Foundation of all his Arguments; the Weapons, upon which he constantly and principally relies. But as He sometimes affects to blend *Reason* with his *Invective*, and being willing to encourage the least Appearance of an Inclination to *fair Debate*, I will consider what he hath advanced, by way of *Argument*; as far as I can collect it out of the Rubbish of his Paper,

per, without endeavouring to wipe off the foul Aspersions on your Character, or returning the same dirty Language to Him.

I am as desirous, as He can be, *that the Congress of Soissons may produce the most happy and desirable Effects, for the Honour of our late gracious Sovereign and his present excellent Majesty, who have declared so much to this End.* I am likewise willing to entertain the same Opinion, that neither *the Prince on our Throne nor the Ministers, honoured with his Confidence, will submit to inglorious Terms, or accept of an ignominious Treaty.* It was this *Desire* and this *Opinion*, which induced me to send you my *former Letter*, in order to dispel the Jealousies and Apprehensions of the People from the general Rumour and pretended Intelligence of a *TRUCE*, which has been industriously propagated in most of the News-Papers, both *foreign and domestick*, for above these two Months past. It is with Pleasure I observe (for I hope He speaks from *Authority*) that He looks upon this *Project* in the same Light with myself; and sets forth these pretended Advices as *the poor Effects of a restless and invidious Nature, in order to asperse the Ministers with odious Designs.* But I must take the Liberty to put him in mind that these *unintelligible Projects and dark Things*, as he calls them, are not of my *trumping up*; and though such *ill-meant Reports*, as He justly observes, bear no Sign of *Credibility* and do not *deserve the Name of Intelligence*; yet it is well known that, by the Artifices already mention'd, They had obtained a general and established Belief, amongst ordinary People, before I took the Trouble of confuting and exposing them. Nay some Persons are so audacious as to continue to propagate the *same Reports*.

But as much as Mr. Manly pretends to condemn this Project of a *Truce*, He seems afraid to give it intirely up and tells us that it is a *Name, which carries no certain Meaning, and can be taken in no limited Sense*; whereas

whereas I think it demonstrable from History that a *Truce* hath always been taken in a *limited Sense* and always signified, in the general Acceptation of the Word, a *temporary Cessation* or *Suspension of Hostilities*, till the Matters in Dispute could be accommodated; in *Contra-Distinction* to a *formal Peace*, in which all Differences and Pretensions are finally settled and determined; and if the *Project*, which They pretend is now in Agitation, is so extensive in its Nature, Condition or Circumstances, as to include all the *Advantages*, which have been so often promised; it is not that *chimerical, precarious Project*, which I have endeavoured to explode; but such an *honourable Accommodation*, call it a *Peace* or a *Truce*, for which I took the Freedom of an *Englishman* to contend; since if the *Terms* are equally beneficial, it is ridiculous, as I said before, to dispute about *Names* or *Forms*.

As I am perfectly convinced of his Majesty's Intention to procure us an *established and honourable Tranquillity*; so I think, we have already demonstrated our Loyalty both to his late and his present Majesty by waiting the Success of their Counsels with the utmost Submission and Patience for above these *three Years past*; and I hope the same Principle of Duty will never forsake us, tho' the Obstinacy of our Enemies, or a Co-incidence of unfortunate Events, or any other Cause should frustrate his royal Intentions for as many or more Years to come. But though we are bound by Duty, as well as inclined by Principle, to do This; I cannot entertain so mean an Opinion of the *British Liberties* as to think that we are debarr'd from examining, with all decent Freedom, any *publick Measures* or *Projects* whatsoever; much less from exposing any *ridiculous, idle Stories*, or *ill-meant Reports*, with which the Enemies of the Government endeavour to alienate the Affections of the People.

It is, I confess, our great Happiness that a *full and FREE Parliament*, as Mr. Manly very judiciously observes,

serves, is sitting above a third Part of the Year ; where all the Measures of the Government come under Enquiry and the regal Prerogative is never insisted on to foreclose any such Proceedings. — And without Question we shall hear, when the ensuing Session is opened, what Progress the Congress hath made, and what Issue it is like to produce. But I presume the People of England, even in their unrepresented Capacity, have a Right to give their Opinion of publick Transactions and examine any Schemes in Agitation, without incurring the hard Imputation of fore-stalling either the Prince or his Ministers. This is not only an undoubted Privilege, which hath been practised in all free Reigns, but may be of great Service to our Country. A private Person may happen to start such Objections or discover such Defects in political Schemes and Projects, as may have escaped the Notice even of the wisest and best-designing Ministers ; and it would be to no Purpose to make his Remarks, when the Negotiations are concluded.

It is ridiculous to argue from the Proceedings of any former Reigns, unless those Proceedings can be justified. It is well known that Queen Elizabeth carried the Prerogative very high ; but then she exercised it with such singular Wisdom and Regard to the Welfare of her Subjects that, a few Instances excepted, it produced no bad Effects on the Cause of Liberty. But when the Prerogative was strained to other Purposes, by some of her Successors, we all know what was the Consequence. The greatest Part of the Reign of King Charles the second was such a Scene of Violence and Oppression, as I hope ought not to be drawn into Precedent under a Government, which is founded on popular Liberty and cannot possibly have any other Security. But as Mr. Manly is pleased to mention the Reign of the late Queen Anne, I must desire Him to recollect what Liberties were taken, and by what Persons, in examining the Negotiations of Peace then
on

on Foot ; notwithstanding her Majesty's Declaration in Parliament that *Peace and War were absolutely and independently Prerogatives of the Crown.*

I should be very sorry if any *Persons*, now in Power, are undeservedly loaded with *vile Imputations* and *foul Suggestions* ; but I hope the People in general will not suffer for the Insults of a *few*, under the Administration of *Gentlemen*, who, according to this Writer, *have not only the greatest Tenderness for Liberty, but the highest Consciousness of Justice and Integrity.*

He seems *astonished* that I should mention the *British and Spanish Instructions to their Admirals and Ministers abroad* ; when it is impossible that I should know the *Nature of them*. I do not indeed pretend to be in the Secret of *either Court*, but I think it very easy to judge from the *Effects*, what was the *Nature* of those Instructions.

He then charges me with *exaggerating the Damage of Great-Britain in Ships we have lost, not considering the Captures we have taken from the Spaniards*. The Publick hath seen a long and black Catalogue of *British Ships*, which the *Spaniards* have taken from us ; and scarce a Week passes, which doth not add to the same melancholy Account ; but I confess I have not yet seen any List of *Those*, which we have taken from the *Spaniards*. I wish Mr. Manly would be so kind as to oblige us with it, that we might be able to settle the *Ballance*.

He likewise takes Notice that *I think it wonderful the French and the Dutch have not suffered like ourselves ; though He says I know they have no Settlements or Trade in those Parts like the British*. Whether their *Settlements* or *Trade* are like *ours*, is to no Purpose. It is certain that they both have very considerable *Settlements* in *America* ; especially the *French*, who begin to grow formidable not only to the *British Dominions* in those Parts ; but even to *Spain* itself. And as to their *Trade*, the *South-Sea Factor* tells us, in
his

his *Answer to a Calumny, &c.* p. 8. *That the Spaniards, before the Peace of Utrecht, had not for many Years regularly sent their Galleons into the Indies, but at such great Distances of Time as left those Countries chiefly to be supplied by the French in the South Seas, and by the Dutch and English in the North. I name the Dutch first, not from Pre-eminence of Nation, but of their Concern in the private Trade in Question; they having had ten times as much on that Coast for European Goods, as ever Jamaica had.*

I presume, it will not be asserted that either the French or the Dutch have since absolutely declined *that Trade*, any more than the English; and therefore I must still take the Liberty to wonder that not *one of their Ships*, as well as I can remember, hath had the Misfortune to be taken by the Spaniards.

We now come to the Affair of the *Galleons*; concerning which Mr. Manly delivers Himself in this very remarkable Manner. *It is known the Galleons could have done us little Service, had we stopt or taken them; the Spanish Government, being ever the Sieve of all Europe, hath less Interest in that Trade than any of its Neighbours; so that were they our Prizes, the British, French and Dutch Merchants would have suffered very much.*

If This were really the Case, I should be glad to know whether the same Reasoning would not have held equally strong against *stopping the Galleons* (for *stopt* they certainly were; though Mr. Manly seems to insinuate the contrary) as against *seizing them*? For if they were chiefly our *own Effects* and *Those of our Allies*; what could tempt us to do a Thing, which was so prejudicial to our *own Interest*; and must, at the same Time, be esteemed the highest Indignity and Provocation to the Spaniards?

But This was not the Language or Method of Reasoning *two Years ago*. The Author of the *Enquiry* takes no Notice that the *Effects of the Galleons be-*
long'd

long'd chiefly to Us and our Allies; but justifies the Necessity of sending a naval Armament to those Parts on a quite contrary Supposition, in these Words, (p. 94.) As to the Squadron sent the West-Indies; I believe there is no one, who hath an Estate in those Parts, or is concerned in any Trade thither, who did not think it highly necessary to have a strong Squadron in those Seas, for securing our Commerce; which must have otherwise been inevitably ruined by the Depredations and Violences committed by the Spaniards for several Years past without Redress. And if the sending the said Squadron hath prevented the Return of the Galleons; no Man, who is in the least conversant in the Affairs of Europe, can make any Doubt but that this incident hath been the ONLY THING, that hath hitherto prevented a War in Europe, by depriving the Courts of Vienna and Madrid of the Means of putting in Execution the dangerous Schemes they had projected.

—— And again, (p. 96.), —— *As to the Squadron in the West-Indies; it hath not only protected the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects in those Parts from the Depredations of the Spaniards; but also the Galleons, with their Stores of Money, the STRENGTH of this new Alliance and the LIFE of all the Projects concerned in it, are kept back; and those Attempts disappointed, which would have been made and perhaps succeeded, had SUCH RICHES come to their Aid.*

I would therefore advise this Writer and his Fellow-Labourers, who seem to write only from Hand to Mouth, either to consult their Principals, or what hath been written in their Defence for a Year or two past, before they venture to launch again into such mysterious Depths.

I am glad to hear that we have no Reason to distrust that the Emperor and the King of Spain will find themselves obliged to recede from every Part of the Treaty of Vienna, prejudicial to the British Interests, or contrary to subsisting Treaties with us; as also that
they

they will give the British Merchants ample Justice. This, I say, gives me great Pleasure, because I hope Mr. Manly hath not yet learned the Trick of flattering us with *Promises* and *Assurances* without any Foundation.

However, if the *Emperor* and the *King of Spain* should refuse to comply with any just Demand, we may still demonstrate the Truth of our Cause by what, in political Logick, we term *Ratio ultima Regum*.

I never knew before that this Kind of *political Logick* was of any Use in *Demonstration*. It hath indeed been made use of to defend a good Cause, and very often to maintain a bad One, when all other Arguments have been wanting; but I never yet found any direct Analogy between *Reason* and great Guns. I wish, with all my Heart, that some Persons had been better skilled in another Sort of *political Logick*, which might have prevented our Recourse to *This*. However, I am glad to hear that we are, in any Manner, coming to our Reason at last.

There is a Passage in the *Enquiry*, which I do not think *mal-apropos* upon this Occasion.

If then, nothing reasonable (says that excellent Writer) *in the Way of Accommodation hath been wanting on their Part (viz. the Ministry's) they will not easily be blamed; it is hoped rather they will be highly commended for This, that they have not permitted themselves to be misled by any smooth Words without Meaning; or be hinder'd from taking all necessary Precautions, by any AMUSEMENT of Congresses, or Embassies, or Negotiations, only thrown in their Way to GAIN TIME TO OTHERS and LOSE IT TO THEMSELVES.*

I shall conclude with a little *Fable* of old *Æsop*; to which *Horace* alludes in my Mott.

The Horse and the Stag contended long and fiercely in an Engagement. The Stag, being best furnished with offensive Arms, prevails. The Horse is put to Flight. The impatient Horse implores Man's Help; returns to

the Field with his well-mounted Auxiliary ; engages and routs his Enemy ; conquers his late Conqueror. But the Horse having thus subdued the Stag, is Himself subjected to Man. His new Ally and Confederate keeps Him in Servitude. He is forced to submit to the Dominion of the imperious Rider. The Bridle restrains ; the Whip awes ; his Rider governs Him ; and He endures the Spur.

A.

Your humble Servant,

W. RALEIGH.

P O S T S C R I P T.

S I R,

SINCE I finished the foregoing, the learned Mr. *Publicola* hath shot his Bolt, in the *London Journal* of *Saturday* last. His whole Argument, upon the same Subject, is, according to Custom, so excessively weak and ridiculous, that I should not have taken the least Notice of Him, were it not to do Justice to the Memory of an *able and upright Minister* ; who, though He continued for above seven Years in the first Degree of Favour with his late Majesty, and had passed through the most considerable Employments in the Kingdom, left no great Estate to his *Family or Relations* ; nor spent one in *Building, Pictures and princely Entertainments* ; but is one rare Instance of a *Statesman*, who died universally lamented. Yet this sordid Writer is not ashamed to rake into the Ashes of that *worthy Patriot* ; and to lay all the unaccountable Circumstances of our *present Situation* to his Charge ; which seems to be but an awkward Compliment to the *Gentlemen now in Power* ; whose Conduct, I hope, does not stand in Need of such *mean Shifts and ungenerous Apologies*.

He

He tells us that one of the chief Reasons, which *flung the King of Spain into the Arms of the Emperor* and occasioned that *unnatural Alliance*, was the late Lord STANHOPE's Promise to restore *Gibraltar*. This is very far from being the Case. We have been told indeed, that his Lordship did unwarily give some Kind of a verbal Promise to the late *Regent of France*, that the *Spaniards* should be made easy as to that Affair; but it was in View of a *general Pacification*, and on Conditions of *Trade*, highly beneficial to this Kingdom; with which the *Spaniards* refused to comply. Besides, it is well known that his Catholick Majesty acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance* after This, and by that Act departed from any such Promise. Neither can this Writer surely be ignorant that the *Spaniards* found their present Claim to that Place, on a *Letter* from his late Majesty to the King of Spain; which was demanded in the *House of Commons* without Effect (though it was not denied that such a *Letter* was sent) in the last Session of the late King; and *this Letter* bears Date after the Death of Lord Stanhope, and since the happy Inauguration of the *present Ministry*.

But it may not be amiss to acquaint Mr. *Publicola* with another Incident, *which hath been thought, by Men of Sense of all Parties, to be the true Root and Foundation of the Treaty of VIENNA*; and That is This. During the Congress of *Cambray*, the Kings of *Great-Britain* and *France* were accepted as *Mediators* between the *Emperor* and the King of Spain; but upon sending back the *Infanta*, her *Catholick Majesty* was so much exasperated against the *French Court*, by this Indignity put upon her Daughter, that she would not act any longer under the Mediation of *France*, but offered the *sole Mediation to Great-Britain*; which we, by an extraordinary Refinement of Politicks, and a great Tenderneſs of offending our good Allies the *French*, thought fit to refuse; and it was This that really

flung the King of Spain into the Arms of the Emperor. Thus, by a Revolution not uncommon in Politicks, the *French King* is, in a Manner, become *Mediator* between the *Emperor*, the *King of Spain* and his *Britannick Majesty*; who might have been *Mediator* between Them; and I will leave the World to judge whether the *Ballance of Europe* hath not attended it.

I should not have entered thus far into so tender a Point, which I have hitherto forbore, had not *this Writer* endeavoured, in so cruel a Manner, to asperse the Memory of an *excellent Person*, who cannot now speak for himself; by ascribing the Cause of the *present Difficulties* about *Gibraltar* and the Foundation of the *Treaty of Vienna* to his Administration; which is so palpably groundless and unjust.

He seems to entertain a very mean Opinion of the *Hanover Alliance*, by representing merely as a Point of *Necessity*. He insinuates very plainly that some of our *professed Friends* are *unconcerned and indifferent* to our Interest; nay that, if we had gone to War, *what SOME of our Allies got would be at the Expence of the OTHERS*. I wonder how *this Writer* dares to take such *Liberties*; which I am sure would be esteemed the highest Presumption and Disobedience in *You*.

However, if his Objections have any Weight, it must be allowed that we are in a dreadful Situation; and that *Allyance* was not so wisely form'd as we have been taught to believe, if our *professed Friends* are so justly suspected that we dare not accept of their *Assistance*, even supposing them willing and ready to grant it.

A.

Yours,

W. RALEIGH.

SATURDAY,



N^o 129. SATURDAY, *December 21, 1728.*

IT is strange what subtle Artifices the Wit of Man will make use of to carry on Correspondences, where it is dangerous and difficult to keep them up by the ordinary Methods. The most ingenious Stratagems of this Kind are practised in the *Eastern* Countries, where probably the Genius is more lively and refined; and the Imagination of Mankind is quicker than in our *Northern* Parts of the World. It is a common Practice to send Letters from very distant Places by *Pidgeons*; which, I believe, every Body will agree is a more expeditious, and perhaps a safer Way too of sending them than by our *General Post*. *Cyphers*, we know, are frequently made use of to convey treasonable Correspondences between *Conspirators*; and, in *Seraglios*, a whole amorous Intrigue hath been often carried on by sending *Nesegays* backwards and forwards; where a proper Disposition of Colours, and a particular Arrangement of the Flowers have been made to speak the Lover's whole Mind, and convey every tender Sentiment, which He wished to breathe into his Mistress's Ear.

I have lately read of a political Stratagem of this Kind, in an old Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*, with which I was extreamly well pleased. The pompous *Eastern* Stile, which is visible throughout the Whole, is a Proof of its Antiquity; and adds, in my Opinion, a graceful Solemnity to the Narration, which runs in this Manner.

In the second Year, in the ninth Month, and on the 21st Day of the Month of King *Amphicrates*, Ruler in

Samos, it happened that there was a *certain Man*, formerly a Servant to the Kings of this Country, who being sorely afflicted in Spirit to see the Kingdom become ruinous and desolate, and his Prince abused and betrayed, resolved to attempt some Means of rescuing his Master, whom he honoured, from the Hands of those wicked Men, who were bringing his Affairs to Destruction; and of preserving his Country, which He loved, from the Calamities and Miseries, with which it was threatened. He wanted to speak with his Master, but could not find any Opportunity; for He was encompassed around on every Side by his Enemies, and environed by *Those*, who had watch over him. What to do in this Distress he knew not. A strenuous Opposition to the Measures, in which his Master was engaged, might, He feared, raise Tumults amongst the People, and possibly even Disaffection to the Person of his Sovereign. An Acquiescence under them was certain Destruction to his Country. How to behave in this Perplexity was very difficult. At length He bethought himself of the following Stratagem. He was apprized that his Master frequently took Delight in reading *certain Papers*, in which the ingenious Men of his Kingdom used now and then to exhibit Instruction and Entertainment to the Publick, without exposing their Names. He thought that, in one of These, He might, without Suspicion, address Himself to his Master. He took his Pen, and feigning a Story of *Ithobaal*, King of *Tyre*, who had been most basely and infamously betrayed by his *Ministers*, He contrived to make *another Person* speak his Sentiments; and the very Words, which He had a Mind to utter to his *own Prince*; and by these Means, from the Abundance of the Grief of his Heart and in the Sincerity of his Soul, He spake to his *King*, just as if He had been alone with Him in his Closet, in the following Words.

“ O King, live for ever. Thy Servant truly loveth Thee. His Heart is overwhelmed with Grief to see Thee thus abused. Thou art good; but thy Ministers are wicked. Thou meanest the Welfare and Prosperity of thy People; but They seek their Destruction. They lead Thee into Darkness and not into Light. They have no Regard for thine Honour; neither have They Respect for thy Posterity. Corruption is in their Hearts, and Arrogancy cometh out of their Mouths. The People of the Land have They used with Oppression, and exercised Robbery. They are like Wolves ravening for Prey. They have taken Gifts, and greedily gained of the People by Extortion. The People of the Land have They used with Violence. The Nobles bow to them for Gold, and the Commons crouch to them for Pieces of Silver. Why is their Corruption hid from thine Eyes; and why are not their Misdoings laid before Thee? Behold thy Power is, as it were, their own Power. All Applications are first made to Them. Whatever Good is done, or whatever right Thing is approved, They assume the Merit of it to Themselves. Whatever Wrong is perpetrated, or whatever Oppression is felt, the Load of it is, by Them, laid upon Thee. The Favours, which, through thy Power, They bestow, are all their own. The severe Denials, which, in thy Name They give, are all Thine. The Employments which, in Justice, ought to be equally distributed amongst thy loyal and affectionate People, are all confined to the narrow Bounds of their own Family. Men are not raised for Duty and Allegiance to Thee; but for Adulation and Dependence upon Them. Dost Thou not see them endeavouring to outvie Thee in Splendor, Riches and Attendance? Thy Country is well nigh ruined; oppressed with Debts; exhausted by Contributions; loaded with Taxes; sunk in Corruption.

How

“ How doth the City sit solitary, that was used to
 “ rejoyce ? Once it was the Pride of the World. The
 “ Reputation of it was great over the Face of the
 “ whole Earth. Its Trade flourished. Its Riches
 “ abounded. Its Credit was established. Its Glory
 “ was transcendent. Now, without one visible Mis-
 “ fortune, no Battle lost, no Blow struck, no unhap-
 “ py Accident befalling us, the Reputation of it is
 “ sunk ; the Trade of it is lost ; the Credit of it is
 “ gone ; the Glory of it is faded away. It is brought
 “ into Contempt by the Nations round about it, and
 “ is become a Reproach to all that pass by.

“ Why did we desire the Assistance of other Nations ?
 “ Why did we depend on the Friendship of *Those*,
 “ who can mean us no Good ? Can They, whose In-
 “ terest it hath always been to annoy us, make it now
 “ their Glory to assist us ? What good Genius can
 “ have made them in an Instant such generous Friends,
 “ who have ever been formerly such dangerous Ene-
 “ mies ? They, who placed their Rest in our Trou-
 “ bles, will they now apply their Cares for our Re-
 “ pose ? We let them become, as it were, Masters of
 “ our State, by suffering them to be *Arbiters* of our
 “ Differences ; and whilst they act the Part of *Media-*
 “ *tors*, they cast Oil and Wood into the Flames to in-
 “ crease them. What Occasion had we for the inter-
 “ meddling of Strangers ? Are They more versed in
 “ our Interest than we ourselves ? Are They more
 “ sensible of our Injuries than we, who suffer them ?
 “ If *Peace* be profitable, have we need of their As-
 “ sistance in procuring it ? If it be hurtful, shall their
 “ Advice tye up our Hands ? If the *Peace* be feasible,
 “ why should we leave the Glory of it to others ? If
 “ impossible, why lose Time in making vain Propositi-
 “ ons and in fruitless Congresses ? Why should we ac-
 “ quaint strong and ambitious Neighbours with our
 “ Views ? Why should we trust them with the Secret
 “ of our Force ? Must *Fyre*, which hath, in Times
 “ past,

“ past, compelled *Babylon* to beg Peace, be now con-
 “ strained to purchase it of Her? Must one of the
 “ most considerable and, till lately, the most flourish-
 “ ing Monarchies of the World, serve for Matter of
 “ Sport to the Vanity of that treacherous Nation, on
 “ whom we now depend; and suffer them to wrest
 “ the *Ballance* of the *East* out of our Hands? *Nature*
 “ teaches us the Policy we should observe. She hath
 “ separated us from all other Nations by a vast and
 “ deep Trench; thereby silently instructing us that
 “ the Principle of our Subsistence is within ourselves
 “ and that we never ought to embarrass our own Af-
 “ fairs with the Disputes of the *Continent*; nor sub-
 “ mit our Interest to the Arbitrement of others.

“ Believe me, Sir, these are fatal Truths, and the
 “ present, miserable Situation of our Affairs is not
 “ owing to *unlucky Accidents*, but to *weak Negotiations*.
 “ Be assured that it is not the Consequence of
 “ *unhappy Events*, which hath reduced thy Kingdom
 “ to these Difficulties; but that it was the original In-
 “ tention of those *faithless Allies*, to whom thou hast
 “ trusted; and was foreseen by every Body, but those
 “ *weak Ministers*, on whom thou hast depended.
 “ *Babylon* hath obtained the End of her Policy. The
 “ Distress of thy Kingdom was her principal Design;
 “ the Ruin of our *Trade* was her only Aim. Shouldst
 “ thou suffer thy *wicked Ministers* still to go on in their
 “ Abominations, my Soul trembleth to think what
 “ may be the Consequences. They may, at length,
 “ lead thee into such inextricable Difficulties, that
 “ scarce any one will undertake the hazardous Task
 “ of delivering Thee from them. Thou may’st, by
 “ their Management, be left without a true Friend
 “ *at home*, as by their Negotiations I fear thou art
 “ without a sincere Ally *abroad*. Their Iniquities
 “ (which God forbid!) may one Day possibly prove
 “ dangerous even to thee. Thy People’s inveterate
 “ and just Hatred of them may, should’st thou con-
 “ tinue

“ continue to support them, be converted into Dis-
 “ affection to thy Person; and when they see That,
 “ which every good Subject dreads, they will be the
 “ foremost to turn against thee; nor will they be the
 “ first *Ministers* in this Country, who, when their
 “ Misdeeds have brought their Master to Extremities,
 “ have made those very Misdeeds the Means of Favour
 “ and a Merit with the Successor. Believe me, that
 “ whilst they outwardly seem to adore Thee, in their
 “ Hearts I know they hate Thee. Thou art, in pub-
 “ lick, the Object of their Adulation. In private,
 “ Thou art too often the Subject of their Mirth and
 “ Derision. Believe them not; for they are false.
 “ Trust them not; for they are perfidious. Lean not
 “ on them; for they are broken Reeds. Arise. Exert
 “ thyself. Deliver us out of their Hands; and pour
 “ forth thy Wrath upon them. Do unto them after
 “ their Ways, and according to their Deserts let them
 “ be judged; and let them know that THOU ART
 “ KING.

“ Assert thy Right. Vindicate thine Honour.
 “ Establish thy Power. Save thy Country.

This Speech roused such a Spirit in the Breast of
 this good and just King and kindled such a Flame with-
 in Him, that He immediately sent a Guard; seized
 their Persons and secured their Papers. On This, the
 People gave one general Shout. An universal Glad-
 ness filled their Hearts. The *City* rejoiced with ex-
 ceeding Joy; and all the People cryed aloud, LONG
 LIVE THE KING! MAY HIS DOMINION BE ESTA-
 BLISHED FOR EVER.

When these *weak* and *wicked Men* were cast down,
 whole Multitudes came in, complaining of their Op-
 pression and offering Evidence of their Transgressions.
Witnesses, without End, appeared to make out their
 Corruption; and Instances innumerable were produced
 of their Guilt. Infomuch that even They, who
 thought

thought the worst of them, were surprized at the black Enormity of their Iniquities.

Immediately after their Disgrace, *Plenty* was restored. *Credit* revived. *Traffick* began again to flourish. The *People* were happy; and the *King's* Throne was established in *Peace* and in *Glory* for many Generations. C.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'Anvers,

YOUR Correspondent *Raleigh* is very much in the Right, when he despises the *Publicola* of the 7th of *December*; and yet I should have been better pleased if he had given us a few more Animadversions upon that Paper, than what are communicated in the *Postscript* of his last Letter to you; not because the Performance in itself deserves so much Regard, but because the *People of England*, to whom it is address'd, deserve that nothing should be omitted, which may tend to secure them against being deceived in Matters of the greatest Importance to their well-being; and because such *shameless Writers* are capable of doing much Hurt, unless their Fallacies are detected, and their Sophistry is exposed sufficiently and in Time. I applaud your Correspondent extreamly, for scorning to imitate this *foul-mouth'd Creature*, in guessing who he is; and yet *Raleigh* might have excused himself by mentioning, what some Persons have industriously put about in Whispers, which have not been thought quite groundless, on Account of the *ill Manners*, *Insolence*, *Prevarication* and *superficial Knowledge*, observed to glare in every Period of *Publicola's* Answer to *Raleigh's* Letter.

But whoever the *Author* is (which I do not take upon me absolutely to determine, notwithstanding such *strong Characteristics*) let us consider the Work itself.

When

When *Raleigh* distinguished between a *Peace* and a *Truce*, it is plain that he understood these Words in their common and right Acceptation; just as I dare say every Man in *Britain* understands them. When we were promised a *Peace*, we all understood that a *Treaty* was to be made, by which the Points, which are in Dispute between us and other Powers, and which threaten a Rupture, would be *decided*. When we heard the Rumour of a *Truce*, we all understood that a *Treaty* was meant, in which these Points would not be *decided*, but a *Cessation of Hostilities* would be stipulated.

Peace and *Truce*, says *Publicola*, differ only in This. *Peace* is an Agreement without any Time limited, and *Truce* an Agreement for a certain Time; but, with his Leave, this is sophistical, and even false. *Peace* implies a *Decision of Disputes*; *Truce* a *Suspension of Disputes*; or at least of *Hostilities* for a certain Time. It is not, properly speaking, an Agreement. It is an Expedient to prevent Those, who cannot agree, from going to Blows.

A *Peace* may be bad, and a *Truce* may be good. A *Peace* may be only a *Cessation*, a precarious, temporary *Suspension of Hostilities*; and a *Truce* may be safe and honourable. What in the Name of common Sense can this dogmatical *Trifler* mean? A *Peace* may prove, in the Course of Events, and under the Conduct of *Ministers*, who know not how to preserve it, nothing more than a *Cessation* or temporary *Suspension of Hostilities*, no doubt; but if it be no more than *That*, in the original Plan, it is not a *Peace*; it is a *Truce*.

Consider this Difference in an Article, which touches our *Interest* and, as Affairs have been managed, our *Honour* too very nearly. I mean in the Case of *Gibraltar*. If the *Spaniards* depart from the Claim they lay to a Cession of this Place on our Part, and in express Terms confirm the Cession on their Part, made by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; such a Treaty constitutes a
Peace.

Peace. But if they only stipulate that we shall enjoy all our Possessions, and even *Gibraltar* by Name if you please, *during a certain Time*, such a Treaty constitutes a *Truce*. The Dispute is not *decided*, but the Pretence of Right remains to be taken up, after the Time stipulated is elapsed. Now I ask, as the Promise of *Peace* gave us *Hopes*, might not the Rumour of a *Truce* give us *Apprehensions*? And where is the Sophistry of *Raleigh*, who argued on these plain Differences, or the Candour of *Publicola*, who hath endeavoured to confound them?

He makes an Attempt, in an awkward Manner, to turn *Raleigh* into Ridicule for saying that *He could not well conceive* how the salutary Ends, proposed by a *Peace*, could be obtained by the pretended Project of a *Truce*; but the Ridicule must turn upon this *pert Blunderer* Himself, if He imagines (and He must imagine it, or there is no Meaning or Drift in his whole Letter) that a Cassation of the Treaty of *Vienna*, renouncing the *Pretender*, revoking the Charter of the *Ostend* Company, giving up all Claims to *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*, restoring our *Commerce* and making our *Merchants* Reparation for their Losses, can be effected by a *Truce*, even according to his own Definition of it; that is, by an Agreement for a *certain Time*.

I will finish this Head with one short Observation. It was said above that a *Truce* was an *Expedient* to prevent Those, who cannot agree, from going immediately to Blows. I add that it may, some Time or other, serve as an *Expedient* to draw *Ministers* out of their Difficulties, when They have managed so ill, that they can neither make *War* nor *Peace*.

Raleigh hath set all that relates to the Claim, which the *Spaniards* pretend to have on *Gibraltar*, and to the Reasons that threw the King of *Spain* into the Arms of the *Emperor*, in so full and clear a Light, that I have no need to touch either of those Articles; and shall leave Mr. *Publicola* to take his Option between

Ignorance and Unfairness; one of which He was grossly guilty of in all He said upon these Subjects.

I proceed to answer some of the *wise Questions*, and to reflect on the Affirmations and Insinuations, which are contained in the rest of his Letter.

Speaking of the Conduct of the *Spaniards*, He says *They went on tricking, prevaricating, explaining Words and, which is worse, taking Ships; and who can help This?* Vice-Admiral *Hofier*, and the Squadron of our Men of War, which was sent to the *West-Indies*, could have helped it. That *gallant Man* and Numbers of *brave Officers and Seamen*, who died Spectators of the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, would have laid down their Lives with Pleasure, in preventing or avenging the Injuries offered to their Country.

He goes on. *Is it in the Power of any Ministry upon Earth to make the World honest, or to hinder professed Friends from being indifferent or Enemies faithless?*——No, dear Sir, any more than it is in the Power of the whole World to make *some Ministers* either *honest* or *able*; but it is in the Power of *wise Ministers* to act upon these Principles, that *professed Friends* may be sometimes *indifferent* or *worse*, and that *Enemies* will be *faithless*; for which Reason *such Ministers* have not used to answer for the *first*, or to trust the *last*. *Such Ministers* have always seemed to think that *Friends* and *Enemies* too would follow their Interest and their Passions, at the Expence of their *Faith*; and therefore *such Ministers* have always proportioned their outward Demonstrations to the present Appearances; but have regulated their Conduct by the Knowledge of these *Interests* and *Passions*; and Mr. *Publicola* will find, when He shall condescend to inform himself better of these Matters, than he seems yet to have done, that *such Ministers* have not usually given Time to a *declared* and *exasperated Enemy* to acquire Strength and Spirit, nor committed their Affairs to the Management of an *Ally, not equally interested in the same Quarrel*. We

We are, no doubt, infinitely obliged to our *present Ministers*, who have the Good of their Country so warmly at Heart, that They chose to bear all the Mischiefs, which He enumerates, rather than *involve the Kingdom in a long, expensive and uncertain War*. But *Publicola* banters us, when He presumes to affirm that They must have had some deeper Design than He will own; or We, *who do not take a full View of Affairs*, can guess. They could not mean to avoid a War by *Measures*, which must encourage an *overbearing Enemy*. Perhaps, it might be necessary for our Good to give *France* the Merit, at *Madrid*, of keeping the *British Arms* inactive in the *West-Indies*; and if That was the Design, it is highly probable that They have succeeded.

Our *noble Writer* adds, speaking of the War, which we have so gloriously avoided, *a War too, in which, perhaps, what SOME of our Allies got might be at the Expence of the OTHERS. Consider That well*. He puts me in mind of *Bullfinch* in the Play, who never finds out the *Jest*, till an Hour after the Laugh is over. Why, Sir, This was considered by every Man of common Sense, as soon as he read the *Treaty of Hanover*. This was considered by the *Dutch*, who hesitated so long about acceding to *this Treaty*, and who acceded to it at last with *such Restrictions*, to say no worse.

I thought to have gone on and to have made a few more Observations on this elaborate Piece; but I own freely to you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I am quite tired. He grows so profoundly dull, that it is impossible to dive after Him any longer, without having as great Alacrity at *sinking* as Himself. *He is really below our Notice*, and one may say of Him with Truth, what he says with Truth of the *Pretender*, that it is almost *dishonourable to mention Him*.

C.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

E 2

JOHN TROT.



N^o 130. SATURDAY, *December 28, 1728.*

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



TRAD E is of that general Use and Importance to every Country, that whatever relates to it can never be unreasonable, nor too often discussed; especially in this Nation, which has so great a Dependence on it. I am the more encouraged to enter upon this Subject at present, when the Tranquility of *Europe* is under Negotiation, and we may reasonably hope, that our *Ministers* and *Politicians* will be at Leisure to attend more heartily to Matters of *Trade*, and the Improvement of our own *Manufactures* and *Plantations*, which ought not to be esteemed beneath their Care and Study. They will then be convinced, that there is something more in the main Springs and Principles of *Commerce*, than to manage a narrow, selfish *Intrigue*, or to procure and promote a *Monopoly* of any Kind; to encourage the Exportation of *Corn*, when cheap, and to discourage it when dear; to raise or fall the Value, Name, or Interest of *Money*; to restrain or prohibit not only the Industry of his Majesty's Subjects with other Nations, but even with one another. They will find that These and many more pretended *Encouragements* are so far from being what they are called, that they are generally calculated to promote some sinister *Design*; or arise from mistaken Notions of unskilful Men, in Matters of this Nature, and who will not allow themselves Time or Opportunity of being better informed,

ed, but take them upon trust from *Others*, who confound Effects with Causes, and Causes with Effects, and measure the *Trade* and *Interest* of *Great Britain*, and even of all *Europe*, according to their own fond Conceptions, or imaginary Notions.

Whoever will look into the present State of the *British Commerce* will find that the *Ballance* runs against us in many Branches; and that the *most valuable* (if not the *only Remains*, which are intrinsically so) are to our *own Plantations*; for, upon Enquiry, it will appear that They employ above one half of our *Naviga-tion*, and consequently are a very considerable Part of the *Trade* and *Riches* of this Kingdom. They are likewise to be considered as intirely *our own*; and therefore it is highly our Interest to encourage and improve them, since they may be useful to us, and be a considerable Support to the Nation, when *other Branches* may possibly fail us, through the Designs and Contrivances of our *Rivals in Trade*, who have in a Manner worked us out of several Parts, which we formerly enjoyed.

Those Plantations, which have already contributed so much to the Wealth and Figure of *Great Britain*, look as if they were intended by Providence for some greater Ends; to which undoubtedly they may be made subservient, if we are not neglectful of the Opportunities, which are put into our Hands; for They have not, as some vainly imagine, sprung from the deep Contrivances of any *one Man*, or *Party of Men*, but from various Causes, at several Times; and indeed, in a great Measure, from our *own* and *other People's Weakness*.

Our Northern Colonies have chiefly had their Rise from our intestine Broils, on Account of *religious* and *State Affairs*; which obliged great Numbers of People to remove to those distant Countries. “Such there-fore, says Dr. *D'Avenant*, as found themselves dis-turbed and uneasy at home, if they could have

“ found no other Retreat, must have gone to the *Hans*
 “ *Towns, Switzerland, Denmark, &c.* (as many did,
 “ before the *Plantations* flourished, to our great Detri-
 “ ment) and they, who had thus retired to *European*
 “ Countries, must have been for ever lost to *England*.
 “ But Providence, who contrives better for us, than
 “ we can do for our selves, has offered, in the *new*
 “ *World*, a Place of Refuge for those People, where
 “ their Labour and Industry is more useful to their
 “ *Mother Kingdom* than if they had continued among us.

The *Southern Colonies* sprung from the same, or such like Causes, and owe their Success, principally, to the *Netherland's* Loss of *Brazil* to the *Portuguese*; after which, the Product of that noble Country, for want of Industry, and by the Mismanagement of those People, gave our Countrymen the Opportunity of settling the *Caribbee Islands*, and to raise *Sugar, Indigo*, and such like Commodities, sufficient for our own Consumption, and also for the Supply of other Nations; which, as *America* is constituted, could never have otherwise happened.

Jamaica, it is true, became ours by *Conquest*; and, besides being really a better Soil, and containing a far larger Extent of Ground than all the *British Islands* in *America*, has also such a Conveniency, by its Situation, for *Trade* or *War*, as cannot be exceeded, if it is to be parallel'd by any Country in the World. But, I need not enlarge upon This, or shew the Importance of this Island to *Great Britain*, since it hath been so fully set forth in a little Piece, which was lately published, entitled, * *Some Observations on the Asiento Trade, as it hath been exercis'd by the South-Sea Company, &c.*

To form a more perfect Idea of our *Trade* and *Plantations*, it is necessary to observe that *England*, as an Island, hath no Way of conveying its Product and

* Printed for H. Whitridge at the Corner of Castle-Alley in Cornhill.

Manu-

Manufactures abroad, but by *Navigation*; nor any Way of being considerable but by its *Fleets*; and of supporting them but by our *Trade and Plantations*, which breeds *Seamen* and brings in *Wealth* to maintain them.

The *Plantations* likewise consume vast Quantities of the *British Product* and *Manufactures*; furnishes us with many *useful Commodities*, which we formerly bought of *other Nations*, and employs great Numbers of People *at home*, as well as *abroad*. They therefore, who are thus useful to the Nation, ought certainly to be cherish'd and encourag'd; for on *Them*, in a great Measure, depends our *Navigation* and *Seamen*; and on our *Navigation* and *Seamen* depends our *Strength*, which is our *Security*.

If we had nothing more than our *own Product*, and a little *foreign Traffick* with other Nations, could we be able to maintain those *mighty Fleets*, which render the *British* Name formidable in all Parts of the known World? Would one Man's consuming what another raised, add to our *Wealth*? *No Commodity* is truly an Increase of the *national Stock*, but That, which is *exported*, and all *Trades* receive their Life and Vigour from the *Merchant*. By him the *Mariner* is subsisted; the *Planter* supplied; who mutually assist each other in promoting the general Interest of the Nation. Why then are not these several *industrious Societies* more valued and encouraged; since it is so very obvious, that the *Wealth* and *Grandeur* of *Great Britain* are principally owing to them? Her *Prosperity* and *Safety*, in a great Measure, depend on *Trade*, and *Trade* on the *Plantations*. It is therefore highly her Interest to cherish and protect them, not only as they are subject to her; but as she draws, from thence, by a Kind of magnetick Force, all that is good and valuable. She is the *Center*, to which all Things tend.

Nothing can be of greater Importance to every *Englishman*, than a true Knowledge of the *Manufactures*,

ciures, Trade, Wealth and Strength of his Country; and it were to be wished that our *Nobility and Gentry* would make Them their Care and Study; which, however they may be neglected or slighted, are notwithstanding the only Foundation of a solid and lasting Greatness.

The present Grandeur of the *French*, as Dr. *Davenant* observes, is chiefly derived from a Succession of *four very active and able Men*, in Matters of State, *viz. Richlieu, Mazarine, Colbert and Louvoy*; but *Richlieu* was eminent above the rest. He neglected no Part of Government. *Raising Money* was not his *only Care*; for it is well known that He inspected the Lives and Manners of the *Church*, the Discipline of the *Army* and the Corruption of the *Law*. He fortified the *Frontier Places* of his Country. He provided *military Stores*. He put *France* into the Way of having a *naval Strength*; and, at the same Time, encouraged *Manufactures* and promoted *Trade*, as if his Thoughts had been taken up with no other Business.

Such a *Genius* would go a great Way towards securing the *Trade of England*, against the *Power of France* and the *Wealth of Holland*.—But, an Understanding so sublime is hardly to be found in any Country.

O.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

CHARLES FREE-PORT.



SATURDAY,

N^o 131. SATURDAY, *January 4, 1728-9.*

An *A N S W E R* to the LONDON
JOURNAL of *Saturday, December 21st.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

MR. D'ANVERS,



THE Family of the *Publicolæ* are surely very numerous. I pretend to no Acquaintance with them, and I desire none. Far be it from me therefore to assign to any one of the *Fraternity* his particular Lucubration. I do not presume to say, for Instance, that such a Piece was writ by *BEN*, or such a one by *ROBIN*; but I can plainly distinguish, in their Productions, a difference of *Style* and *Character*. In *some*, I feel myself lull'd by a regular, mild, and frequently languid Harangue; such as often descends upon us from the *Pulpit*. In *others*, I observe a crude, incoherent, rough, inaccurate, but sometimes spright'y Declamation; well enough fitted for popular *Assemblies*, where the *Majority* is already convinced.

The *Publicola* of the 7th of *December* quite jaded me. I handled the *Numb Fish*, till I fancied a Torpor seiz'd my Imagination; and perhaps you may think that I am hardly yet recovered from the Consequences of that Accident. However, I shall venture to play a little with the *Publicola* of this Day; for I think,

think I can go through an Answer to his Paper. He returns the Ball at least, and keeps up the Game.

Before I come to This, give me Leave to premise a Word or two more.

As different as the *Publicolæ* are in other Things, in one they are all alike. They are scurrilous and impatient. They call Names, and grow angry at a Sneer. *Raleigh* laid down his Pen, rather than continue such a *Bear-Garden* Contest. I took it up and answered them for once in their own Style ; but they must not expect so much Complaisance from me any more. The Matters we enter upon are serious, and by me they shall be treated seriously and calmly. I shall consider the Dignity of the Cause I plead for ; the Cause of Truth ; the Cause of my Country ; and I shall look down with Contempt on the *Invectives* and *Menaces*, which they may throw out ; and by which they will suit their *Style*, with great Propriety, to their *Subject*——But let us come to the Point.

The *Publicola*, of this Day, sets out with stating, in an half Light, a Question, which hath been much debated in the World. No Man that I know of (no reasonable Man I am sure) did ever find Fault that we avoided a *War*. Our national Circumstances are so well known, they are so severely felt, that *Ministers*, who maintained *Peace*, and procured to their Country the Blessings of *Peace*, *Quiet*, *Improvement of Trade*, *Diminution of Taxes*, *Decrease of Debts*, would be almost the Objects of publick Adoration. But the Exception taken to our Conduct hath been This ; that we provoked a *War* first, and shewed a Fear of it afterwards. People recall the Passages of three Years past. They wish we had practised greater *Cautions* at that Time ; but then the same People very consistently wish that we had exerted greater *Vigour* since. If the Honour and Interest of his late Majesty and of the *British* Nation, say they, were so severely wounded by the publick or private Treaties of *Vienna*,
—that

that it was fit to keep no longer any Measures, even such as have been thought of Decency, with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*; why this Fear of disobliging them? Why this long Forbearance under all the Insults offer'd to us by the *Spaniards*? If we were in a Condition, by our own Strength, and by our Alliance with *France*, to enter, with a Prospect of Success, into an immediate War; why, again, have we chosen to defer it, under so many Provocations to begin it? Why have we endured some of the worst Consequences of a *War*, without taking those Advantages, which acting offensively would undeniably have procured to us? But if all This was quite otherwise, continue the same *political Reasoners*; if the Honour and Interest of his late Majesty, and of the *British* Nation, were not so severely wounded; if we were, neither by our own Strength, nor by the Alliance of *France*, in a Condition to risque a *War*; nay more, if Things were so unfortunately jumbled, that perhaps *this War would have been more to our own Detriment than to That of our Enemies*, (as the *Publicolæ* have more than once insinuated in their Papers) what could we mean, three Years ago, when Matters were carried to greater and harsher Extremities than it is possible to find any Example of, amongst civilized Nations, since the Quarrels of *Charles* the Vth, and *Francis* the Ist? If our principal Ally would have been dangerous to our Interests, in the Operations of a War, and is indifferent to them in the Negotiations of Peace, (for This hath been insinuated too from the same Quarter) what a Treaty was That, which procured us *this Ally*? What *Assurances* were Those, which made us depend upon Him? The Difficulty of these Dilemmas cannot, I think, be solyed; and Those, who attempt it, deceive themselves, whilst they mean to deceive the People.

But we are told that *we went into a War, as far as the Reason of Things would give us Leave*. It seems then

then that the *Reason of Things* would neither give us Leave to protect our *Trade*, nor to make Reprizals, when our *Merchants* were plundered. If these Words are to pass for any Thing more than empty Sound, it will follow either that *Publicola* is capable of affirming the grossest Untruth in a Paper, addressed to the *People of England*; or that our Situation is worse than the least sanguine of our Friends ever thought it, or the most malicious of our Enemies ever represented it. Very bad indeed must it be if the *Reason of Things* obliged us to bear from the *Spaniards*, at this low Ebb of their maritime Power, what would not have been born when their proud *Armada* covered the Seas; what would hardly have been born, even in the Reign of King *James* the first.

But, God be praised! This is not our Case; and therefore *Publicola* must be content to lie under the Imputation, which He hath drawn on Himself by the Boldness of his Assertions.

He is frequently guilty of this Fault; and the Words, which immediately follow Those I have quoted, afford a strong Instance of it. *We did not*, says He, *take the Galleons and bring them home; but we blocked them up; which as compleatly answered the true End and Design of sending that Fleet, as the actual taking of them. The Design was to keep the Money out of their Hands (the Spaniards) and so disable them to carry on the Project of the Treaty of Vienna.* Very well. This Matter is brought to a short Issue. The Blockade of the *Galleons* is over. Our Fleet is come back from the *West-Indies*. The *Galleons* are either come or coming. The *Spaniards* therefore are, according to *Publicola*, no longer disabled from carrying on the Project of the *Vienna Treaty*. I ask then, have They abandoned, have They renounced these Projects? If our Fleet blocked up the *Galleons* till This was done, He is in the Right. This answered the Design of sending it. If They should, after This, *break their Faith,*

Faith, and renounce the most sacred Obligations, none but They are to be complained of.

Publicola would have us believe, indeed, that *They* have renounced these *Projects*; that *They have granted us the main Things in Dispute*; and that the *Congress* is only to settle *other Affairs of less Importance*; but This I deny; and He shall be obliged to confess either that He advances, here again, a bold Untruth; or that he reckons our keeping *Gibraltar* not amongst the *main Things in Dispute*, but amongst Those of *less Importance*. Let Him shew me, if he can, in the *Preliminaries*, a particular and express Confirmation of our Right to this Place, made by the *Spaniards*. I will undertake to shew him the *general Words*, by which the *Spaniards* will pretend in the *Congress*, as it is notorious they do every where and on all Occasions, that they have still a Right to demand the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, and that this Right is to be discussed in the *Congress*.

I know it hath been said more than once, in a very publick Place and in a very solemn Manner, that *Gibraltar* should not be even mentioned at the *Congress*; but it would be impertinent to lay any Stress on the Assurances of a *Person*, who hath presumed to give so many groundless ones already; and who either hath been banter'd most egregiously Himself, or hath made no Scruple of bantering his Country.

Here then is one *main Point of our Interests*, to mention no more, still unsettled; not because the *Spaniards* have flown off from any Agreement *They* had come to with us about it; but because it was never settled; and yet the *Galleons* are left at Liberty to come home.

If asserting our Right to *Gibraltar* and some other Things, which were founded so high by an Acquaintance of yours, Mr. *Publicola*, (the Author of the *Enquiry*) had no Share in the Ends, which were proposed by sending our Fleet to the *West-Indies*, such strange

incomprehensible Ends may, for aught I know, have been compleatly answered; but if these Points, so essential to *Great-Britain*, were any of the *main Things in Dispute*; if they were any of the Ends proposed by what is called *distressing* the *Spaniards*; then is it false to assert that these Ends have been *compleatly answered*.

When we consider what Numbers of able and useful Subjects his Majesty hath lost in the Expedition to the *West-Indies*; and that we are, at least, as far off from a Settlement of our Interests with *Spain* now, as we were before that Expedition was undertaken, it is impossible not to feel great and unaffected Concern.

If it be asked, what was to be done? I shall answer that, perhaps, it little becomes a private Man to determine such great Questions; but I will proceed to shew that all, which *Publicola* advances against taking the *Galleons*, is trifling.

First then, if *Blocking up* the *Galleons* in the *Spanish* Ports was of such Consequence, *Taking* them would have been a more effectual Measure to all the same Purposes.

Secondly, if we had taken them (as it is certain that Mr. *Hosier* could have done with Ease, and with all their Treasure on Board, immediately on his first Arrival) we should have had a Chance the more for taking the *Flota* too; which stole away to *Europe*, whilst our Squadron lay rotting before *Porto-bello*.

Thirdly, if we had taken this Treasure, we should have had in our Hands a sufficient Security for indemnifying our *Merchants*; who have been the *only Sufferers*, by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; whilst the *French* and *Dutch* have sailed securely; and to one Body of whom (I mean the *South-Sea Company*) the King of *Spain* owes, for former Seizures, unjustly made, as much perhaps as his Proportion in the Treasure of the *Galleons* amounts to.

Fourth-

Fourthly, to have taken the *Galleons* would not have been liable to the same Inconveniencies, as we have severely felt by pursuing another Measure. The Expedition would have been soon over. The Expence of Lives and Treasure would have been infinitely less. It would have cost little or nothing to have kept the *Spaniards* out of their Money by a *Seizure*, as long as the true *Reason of Things* should have required it; whereas it hath cost us more than all that Money is worth to keep them out of it by a *Blockade* only for a Time; and for a Time, which hath not been sufficient to secure us against their *Designs*, or to make them lay aside their *Pretensions*. But if we had taken them (says *Publicola*) we should have taken the Money of other People, as well as of the *Spaniards*. We should have been *Pirates*. Let us see how this hangs together. If we had restored immediately to the Proprietors their respective Shares, as He supposes we must have done, the Brand of *Piracy* would not have stuck upon us. But suppose we had thought fit not to restore their *Shares* to the *Spaniards*, till our Differences with the Court of *Madrid* had been settled; should we have been *Pirates* in that Case? He will be laugh'd at, who affirms it. Would the King of *Spain's* Share in this Treasure have been no Loss to Him? Would He not have missed the extravagant *Indulto*, which He is now going to receive on this immense Treasure? Should we have been *Pirates* for punishing, in this Manner, a Prince, who actually besieged one of our Fortresses; who actually detained the Ships and seiz'd the Estates of our Merchants; and whose Subjects every Day killed, robbed and plundered the Subjects of *Great Britain*?

But I go a Step farther; for if we stop with *Publicola*, it will be always short of the Mark; and we shall never exhaust the Subject, as I desire to do, because I desire to find the Truth, and to be sure that I find it. What hath been said hitherto hath been said

on the Supposition of a *Seizure* only ; and I hope the Scruples of *Publicola's* timorous Conscience are appeased. I hope He hath found out, by this Time, that such a *Seizure* might have been carried on without *Py-racy*. But suppose it had been a *Capture*, not a *Seizure*; such a *Capture* as can never be made but in Time of open War ; such a *Capture* as intitles the *Captors*, by our Laws, to the whole Profit of the Prize. Why then we had commenced a War against *Spain* by this Action ; as *Spain* had done long before against us by a thousand Hostilities. Why then Vice-Admiral *Hosier* and the Officers and Seamen of his Squadron had been in the same Case as Sir *Charles Wager* and the Officers and Seamen of his Squadron were in the last War ; and I do not remember that these gallant Men were ever prosecuted as *Pyrates* at home ; or reputed such abroad ; or obliged to refund any Part of the Treasure They had taken.

Upon the whole Matter, *Publicola's* Argument proves nothing in the present Case ; or it proves that even when we are at War with *Spain*, we must not presume to attack these *sacred Galleons*. Other Nations are always interested in them, as well as the *Spaniards*. It will therefore be always unlawful, according to this excellent Casuist, to make Prize of them ; and He is desied to distinguish himself out of this Absurdity.

Having now gone through what Mr. *Publicola* calls, I know not why, the *Subject in general*, we will examine the second Part of his Epistle. I pass over all the *Billingsgate*, with which he ushers in this Part ; though I could make myself and you too very merry, if I would apply his Criticisms on what *Raleigh* says, concerning *one Promise*, to the Interpretation, which was given to *another Promise* ; by which we might have learn'd, amongst many other curious Distinctions, the Difference between a *direct Promise* and a *Promise ministerially worded* ; but I shall leave
Him

Him to his Phrenzy, and proceed soberly to shew you that He *says nothing*, or That, which is *worse than nothing*, in every Line of this performance; in which He seems to triumph with such vast Complacency.

The Point He labours is to shew that the *Promise* made by the Lord *Stanhope* to restore *Gibraltar*, which hath not been complied with; and the Destruction of the *Spanish Fleet* on the Coast of *Sicily*, *threw the Court of Madrid into the Arms of the Emperor*; and *were the true Root and real Cause of all that thorough Hatred and deep Malice shewn in the Treaty of Vienna*; and by Consequence that all our *present Difficulties* with *Spain* proceed from hence; from Causes laid many Years ago; and when the *present Ministers* were not in Power. My Business shall not be to blame or to excuse *any Ministers*; but to make a true Deduction of Facts; and to reason clearly and justly upon them; and I charitably hope that I may bring *Publicola* to do so in Time; if for no other Reason, at least by obliging Him to *take Shame to Himself* so often; for though I am not so bloody-minded as *Publicola*, who talks as if He had *Heads* in his Power, yet I assure Him that I will not let Him alone whilst, amongst other Enormities, He makes it his Business to bury *Truth* and *common Sense* under such weekly Heaps of Rubbish.

I shall shew immediately that in whatever Terms or Manner we suppose Lord *Stanhope* to have made a Promise of restoring *Gibraltar* to the *Spaniards*, it will be of no Avail to *Publicola's* Purpose. But since He hath told us what He hath heard, and *Raleigh* hath told us what He hath heard (for neither of them can pretend to speak on their own Knowledge, concerning this Affair) I will likewise take Leave to state what I have been informed of, upon better Authority than what my *Adversary* hath often writ upon in his affirmative Style.

I have been informed then that Lord Stanhope had been induced, or seduced (call it which you please) by the late *Regent of France* to make an *Overture* of this Kind at the Court of *Madrid*. Lord Stanhope, says our Author, might think that *Gibraltar* was to be *honestly given up for valuable Considerations*. He might so ; and He was so honest a Man, so sincere a Lover of his Country, that if he had thought in another Manner, no Consideration of *private Interest*, no Regard to the Service of a *Ministry*, could have prevailed on Him to make, nor even to entertain the Motion. But have a Care of your *Insinuations*, Mr. *Publicola* ; and learn to make them with a little more Delicacy. The Case is vastly different *now*. The Sense of our *august Monarch* is known. The Sense of the *whole Nation* hath been loudly proclaimed ; and I believe *no Minister*, how presuming soever, will venture, at this Time, to say that *Gibraltar* may be honourably or advantageously given up ; and therefore no *virtuous Minister* will think He can honestly give it up ; or conspire in *Measures*, which may create the Appearance of a *Necessity* so to do.—But to return to my Narration.

If such an *Overture* was made by Lord Stanhope, it was made to prevail on the Court of *Spain* to desist from the *Enterprize* they had then in hand ; an *Enterprize*, which we should have been obliged to prevent, if the Treaty of *Quadruple Alliance* had never been made, by Virtue of our *Guaranty to the Neutrality of Italy*. That this *Overture* was not received is evident ; since the *Spaniards* went on with their *Expedition*, which ended in the Destruction of their *Fleet*. Now call This an *Overture*, as I do ; or call it a *Promise*, as *Publicola* will affect to do ; it was *vacated* to all Intents and Purposes by the *Spaniards*, who refused to comply with the *Condition*, on which it was and only could be grounded.

It hath been said by some that this *Promise* was renewed afterwards, to pacify the *Spaniards* for the Loss of their Ships, and for their Defeat in *Sicily*; but This deserves Explanation; and will not stand in the Light, which *Those*, who urge it, desire it should.

It is, I believe, true that the *French*, who first induced us to make this *Overture*, would on the Pretences just now mention'd, and on the Pretence of the Hopes, which the *Regent* had continued to give the *Spaniards*, have obliged us to acknowledge this *vacated Promise* as a subsisting Obligation; but I have been informed that This was refused flatly to the *Minister* sent over hither upon that Occasion, and to the *Regent* Himself by our *Minister* abroad. The *Promise* then continued *vacated*; and we were as much disentangled from the Snares, which our good *Allies* laid for us, as if no such *Promise* or *Overture* had been ever made.

But farther. If a *Promise* of this Kind had been made on our Part, even after the Expedition to *Sicily*, which there is no Colour to affirm, yet *that Promise* must likewise have been *void*, since it was made so, to all Intents and Purposes, by the King of *Spain's* Accession to the * *Quadruple Alliance*.

That all *Possessions* are mutually confirmed by *that Treaty*, except such as are *specify'd* in it, cannot be denied. The Possession of *Gibraltar* was therefore again confirmed to us by the King of *Spain*, when He acceded to *that Treaty*; unless He can shew that our Possession of it was *excepted*; or can produce any *private Article* or *Declaration*, which made a *Reservation of his Right to this Place*, notwithstanding the Cession of it made at *Utrecht*. But nothing of This can be shewn; and it hath been said, I believe truly, that a *contrary Declaration* was made solemnly and publicly by the *British Minister* in *Holland*, at the very Time when the Accession was signed.

* *Vide the Treaty.*

Thus far then the Way is clear before us. When we came *Mediators* to the *Congress* of *Cambray* (for such we were at *that Place*, though we have the Misfortune to find our selves principally and almost solely concerned in the Disputes to be settled at *Soissons*) the King of *Spain* had no *Right*, nor *Pretence of Right* to demand of *Great Britain* the Restitution of *Gibraltar*. Indeed, if He had then had such a *Pretence*; if a *Promise*, on our Part, to restore this Place to Him, which *Promise* we refused to execute, had then subsisted, how could He have accepted of our *Mediation*?

Ay, but (says this poor hunted Author, who doubles and shifts and works and tries, at any Rate, to save Himself) Lord *Stanhope*, according to *Raleigh's* own Confession, *was first in this Affair, and laid the Foundation of this Expectation in the Spaniards*.——'Tis plain the *Spaniards* had such *Assurances*. It is allowed you, at least for Argument Sake, that Lord *Stanhope* *was first in this Affair*. The *Spaniards* had such *Assurances*. Make your most of it. These *Assurances* were discharged. These *Promises* were released; and whatever Lord *Stanhope* can be supposed to have done or said about *Gibraltar*, hath no more Relation to the present *Dispute*, than what was done or said about *Gibraltar* in the Time of King *Rodrigue* and the Count *Julian*; so that our Author is building up a *Right* for the *Spaniards* upon Foundations, which were demolished almost as soon as laid. He is building up a *Right*, or He is building up *nothing*; for to talk, as He does, of *Expectations*, in Cases of this Nature, without establishing a *Right*, real or plausible, is too frivolous to deserve an Answer.

Let me illustrate This by a familiar Instance; for Things cannot be made too plain to him. I will suppose Him a *Clergyman*. I will suppose that by Merit, of some Kind or other, He gets a *Promise* of a *Bishoprick*. After This, He does something, inconsistent with such a Promotion. He forfeits all *Title*.
He

He renounces all *Pretensions* to it. Shall his Advocate be admitted to insist that, notwithstanding all This, He expects to be a *Bishop still*; and, instead of grounding his *Expectations* on his *Right*, ground his *Right* on his *Expectations*? No certainly; such an Advocate would be hissed out of Court, and would deserve at least to have his Gown pulled over his Ears.

But the *Spaniards* are not so chimerical. They ground their *Expectations*, and what they call their *Right*, on a *new Engagement* taken by us, as they say, *since* all the Transactions, mentioned above, were over; on a *private Article*, in a *Treaty* made with them in 1721, stipulating the Contents of a LETTER to be written by the *late King*; and on the *Letter*, written in pursuance of *this Article*, the *original* of which They offer to produce; and which They pretend to be a *positive Engagement* to restore *Gibraltar* to them.

With what Front now could *Publicola* affirm, that what *Raleigh* says about the Letter is nothing to his Purpose; unless this mysterious Letter had been wrote before this same Kind of a verbal Promise was made? — If this mysterious or ministerial Letter had been writ before Lord Stanhope's Promise was made, it it would have been nothing to *Raleigh's* Purpose; because his Purpose was to shew that the Demand, which the *Spaniards* now make of *Gibraltar*, cannot be made on any Thing, which passed in Lord Stanhope's Time; but it was extreamly to his Purpose to shew that *this Letter* was writ after Lord Stanhope's Death. Had *Publicola* taken upon Him to ridicule the plainest and easiest Demonstration in *Euclid*, He could not have rendered Himself more ridiculous than He does upon this Occasion.

I am at a Loss what Words to use. I have debarr'd my self from using *hard ones*; and none but the *hardest* are equal to what this *Writer* deserves. Let Him pass then without any Animadversion from

from *Me*. Let the *Reader* pronounce Sentence upon Him.

To sum up the whole on this Head. *Publicola* was to prove that my Lord *Stanhope's* Promise to restore *Gibraltar* is one of the Reasons of the present *Obstinacy of the Spaniards*, and by Consequence of our present *Difficulties*. Now it is notorious that in Fact the *Spaniards* ground their Demand on something, which passed since Lord *Stanhope's* Death ; and I hope it is proved that, in Reason, They cannot ground it on any Thing, which passed whilst he was alive. *Publicola* says it never appeared that the present Ministry came into such *Assurances*: If he means the *Assurances* given by my Lord *Stanhope*, and long ago made null, He is most certainly in the Right, for a very obvious Reason. But if He means the *Assurances* still insisted upon, I have nothing to say but This. *These Assurances*, or what the *Spaniards* call by that Name, were given in the Year of our Lord 1721.

The second Reason assign'd, by this profound Politician, for the Obstinacy of the *Spaniards*, is the *Resentment*, which hath lain at their Hearts, ever since we destroyed their *Fleet*. Here are no *Proofs* offer'd ; nor can there be any, which are direct ; because the Assertion relates to what passes, and hath passed these many Years, in the Hearts of the King, Queen and Ministers of *Spain*. It is a Fact, which we are to take on the bare Word of this Author, or to reject. I make no Scruple of rejecting it ; because the probable Reasons against it seem to me of much greater Weight than his single Authority in any Case, and especially in a Case of this Nature. The *Spaniards* were certainly not very well pleased with us for destroying their *Fleet*. But doth it follow from hence that the *Resentment*, which they conceived upon this Occasion, operates thus strongly still ? How often were the *French* beaten by us in the last War ? Were not
whole

whole Squadrons of *their Ships* destroyed? How many of *their Armies* were defeated? How many of *their Towns* were taken? notwithstanding which, we see with Pleasure, the most *perfect Harmony*, the most *intimate Friendship* subsist between their *Court* and *ours*; even from the Time, when their *Disgraces* were recent, and when their *Resentments* against us must have run the highest, if it was true that *Resentment*, and not the *Ragione di Stato* (as the *Italians* call it) governed the Conduct of Princes. But the Spaniards are more vindictive than the French. This may be said perhaps by People, who are apt to support one Affirmation by another, and to call That Proof. But then how came it to pass that the Spaniards were so soon reconciled to the French, and entered into such close Alliances with them immediately after the Campaign of 1718? If the *British Arms* beat the *Spanish Fleet*, the *French Arms* took the *Spanish Towns* at the same Time. The near Relation and the ancient Friendship between the two Courts of France and Spain, it may be said again, rendered their Reconciliation easy. But This would be to suppose what is quite contrary to the natural Course of human Passions. According to That, the Court of Spain must have been infinitely more piqued against their own Family, for joining in Opposition to them with the Emperor, who had been so long their common Enemy, than against the Court of Britain, who had not the same Ties to them, and who acted for an old Ally. This is natural and probable. Nay, when we consider how many Marks of the utmost Resentment were shewn at that Time by the Spanish to the French Court; how many Intrigues the former carried on to subvert the Government, and to raise a Rebellion in France; I think we may justify affirming that This is true in Fact. And yet how soon was all This forgot at Madrid? How soon was the Reunion of the two Courts brought

brought about in the closest Manner, and cemented by *Marriages*?

The King and Queen of *Spain* might look on the Proceedings of the *French*, in this Affair, as a *political Quarrel* and a *national Wrong*; but they looked on an Affair, which happen'd a few Years afterwards, as a *personal Injury* and *Affront*. I mean the sending back the *Infanta* in so abrupt, so unprepared a Manner, without any softening, and with so many aggravating Circumstances. Never *Resentment* run higher, nor was expressed in Terms of greater Passion, than That of the Court of *Madrid* upon this Occasion; and yet one or two Sacrifices, a little Address, and a little Management pacify'd all; united the two Courts again; and restored to the *French*, in a short Time, such an Influence in *Spain*, that it is marvellous We, who depend so much upon it, should not yet have found the least Effect from it in our Favour.

I have dwelt on these Observations, in order to shew to what poor Expedients *those Writers* are reduced, who attribute the *present Obstinacy* of the *Spaniards*, to the *beating their Fleet above nine Years ago*. Surely it is strange that the Cardinal *de Fleury* should have been able, in *seven or eight Months Time*, to re-establish a good Correspondence and Friendship between the two Courts of *France* and *Spain*, after so great and so sensible an Affront as *Philip* and his *Queen* thought was put upon them by his *Predecessor in the Ministry*; and that *our Ministers* should not be able, in the Course of *as many Years*, to atone for what *their Predecessors* did; nor to pacify the *Resentment* of the *Spaniards*, for their Loss of the *Fleet* in an Action, which They might have avoided; and which They render'd, in some Sort, unavoidable to us. It is impossible to believe that such an *Incident* should produce these Effects; which seem to *strengthen*, rather than to grow *weaker*, the farther They are removed from
this

this *suppos'd Cause* of them. There must be something more recent than this Anger at a *Loss*, long since sustained and *repaired* too, as I believe. Perhaps we may begin to make some Discovery of this Kind, when we examine the *next Article*; to which I shall proceed as soon as I have made a few Reflections more on this Head, which *Publicola* most prudently suggests to me, and which will be of wonderful Service to his Cause.

Nor does the Quadruple Alliance (says He; but He must mean the King of Spain's Accession to this *Alliance*) being after the *Promise* (that is, Lord Stanhope's *Promise* or *Overture*, concerning Gibraltar) *prove the Spaniards had given up their Expectations founded on that Promise; but only that they were not, at that Time, in proper Circumstances to insist upon it.* I have shewn how silly it is to talk of *Expectations*, without any *Right* to expect; and how the *Right* of the Spaniards to Gibraltar, acquired by Lord Stanhopes's *Promise*, or *Overture*, either *real* or *suppos'd*, was extinguished before the Year 1721. But I agree that if They had then had even a *real Right*, They must have submitted to give it up, as They did at that Time, because of the *Circumstances*, into which they were fallen. Let me ask Mr. *Publicola* what reduced them to these *Circumstances*? He must answer, it was beating their *Fleet*. They had been as obstinate *before* that Time, as it is possible for them to be *now*. *Alberoni* talk'd at least as high as the *Marquis de la Paz*. But they grew complying as soon as this Hostility was committed. Might not the taking their *Galleons* have had the same Effect lately? Would not our *incomparable Ministers*, who run up and down the World negotiating and making *Treaties*, with so much Credit to Themselves, and so much Honour and Advantage to the Nation, have done better (I speak it with due Submission to their approved Wisdom) to imitate, than to blame the Conduct of their *Predecessors*?

sors? From 1721, to 1725, we heard of nothing but the *bappy* and *flourishing* State of our Affairs. This must have been owing, according to *Publicola*, to the *Circumstances* the *Spaniards* were in; and therefore This must have been owing to the Defeat, which They received in the *Mediterranean*. How came we to hear from the very same Persons, that all our *Difficulties* and the *Distresses* we are in at present, ought to be dated before the Year 1721? Surely, to be in a *flourishing State*, a Nation must be in a *secure State*; and how could That be true, if, during the *four Years* I have mentioned, a powerful Neighbour meditated *Revenge*, and only waited an Opportunity of striking home? How could it be declared, even from the *Throne*, that * *nothing more than the Forms of a Congress were wanting to establish the publick Tranquility*, if the grand Quarrel between *Us* and *Spain* did, in effect, subsist at that Time?

There are People so very regardless of *Truth*, and so very indifferent to the Shame of being convicted of *Falshood*, that they never consider, when they affirm a Fact, any Thing more than the *present Expediency*. Strange, almost incredible Instances of This might be quoted. I pass them over in Silence for many Reasons; and, amongst others, for this Reason, that some of them are too recent to be forgot. I stick to the Point before me; and shall conclude it by observing that when *Publicola* assigns all the *Difficulties*, which we have laboured under, since the Year 1725, to what passed before the Year 1721, He is confuted not only by the Reasons I have urged, which seem to me unanswerable, but likewise by an *Authority*, which every Man will allow to be *decisive*.

The *next Article* to be considered is This. *Raleigh*, who was not satisfy'd with *Publicola's* Way of accounting for our *present Difficulties*, and for the close Ally-

* *Vide* the King's Speech at the Opening of the Session, 1721. ance

ance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, had ascribed both to our Refusal of the *sole Mediation* at *Cambray*. He is accused of maliciously concealing the Truth and of imputing That to *ill Management*, *extraordinary Refinement* and *great Tenderness*, which was the *Result of true Reason*. Now I think I can demonstrate that *Publicola* is ignorant of the *Truth*; or that He conceals it, I will not say *corruptly*, but *unfairly*.

That the *Treaty of Vienna* was *actually* and *in Form* signed, before it could be so much as known at *Vienna* that we had refused the *sole Mediation*, I might grant in *one Sense* and for the Sake of Argument; (though I do not believe that the Fact is just as He states it) and yet I might safely deny the same Thing in the *only Sense*, in which this Fact can be of the least Use to our *Author*. I can grant that *this Treaty* might be signed in *Form* at *Vienna*, before it could be known there, in *Form*, that we had refused the *sole Mediation*; before the *Couriers* from *Cambray* to *London*, from *London* to *Paris*, from *Paris* to *Madrid*, from *Madrid* to *Vienna* could perform their Journeys, and the several Courts could hold their Councils and make their *Dispatches*. But the *certain Knowledge* of our refusing this *Mediation* might very well arrive at *Vienna* before the *Treaty* was signed; nay, the *Treaty* might be signed upon this Knowledge, by *Virtue* of *Instructions* given with this *Contingency* specified in them. I say This might be the Case; and therefore to affirm this Fact, in the Terms *Publicola* affirms it, is nothing to the Purpose. What *Raleigh* advanced may still be true.

That *full Powers* were given by *Spain* to carry on the *Treaty of Vienna* four Months before this Offer of the *Mediation*, is most certainly true; and therefore there is as much Reason to be astonished that early Measures were not taken to prevent it, as there is that other Measures, than what we have seen pursued, were not taken to prevent the Effects of such a *Treaty*. Could it be an absolute Secret to our *Ministers*, (who

ought to be well informed ; since they have had such immense Sums for *secret Service*, as were never heard of before their Time) that *Spain* was negotiating at *Vienna*, during these four Months? Could it be a Secret to them that, from the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and about a Year, at least, before this *Treaty* was concluded, the *Spanish Ministers* were full of Fears and Jealousies about the compleating the *Infanta's* Marriage with the King of *France*? If these Things, which were not quite unknown to most private Persons, who observed the Course of publick Events, and who sought Information about them, did not escape the Intelligence of our *Ministers*, how could a Consideration of the Circumstances, which the Court of *Spain* was in at that Period, escape their Sagacity?

From the Time of the Accession of the King of *Spain* to the *Quadruple Alliance*, the whole Management of the Court of *Madrid* had been left to the Duke of *Orleans* and his Cardinal *du Bois*; and if we were drawn into the Treaty made at *Madrid* in 1721, by this Prince and his Minister, as I verily believe we were; it is easy to see *who* was thanked for This by the *Spaniards*, and how watchful *France* hath constantly been to seize and improve every Occasion of rendring our Title to *Gibraltar* disputable, and of wresting this important Place out of our Hands. We came then into the Congress of *Cambray* joint Mediators with the *French* between the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, but not with equal Advantage; not with an equal Share in the Confidence of *one* of the Parties; and with our Share in the Confidence of the *other*, perhaps, a little diminished; for it is not unlikely that the *private Treaty*, made at *Madrid* with the King of *Spain*, whilst we were Mediators at *Cambray* between *Him* and the *Emperor*, might give Umbrage at least to the *latter*. I know not whether this Step did not even occasion some Complaint, tho' not in *Form* perhaps, from the *Imperial Ministers*.

In this State of Things, and in this Disposition of all Parties, what could it be imagined that the *Spaniards* should turn Themselves to, on the Foresight of a Rupture of all Intimacy, and even Correspondence with *France*? Could they resolve to leave themselves without *any Ally* with so many *Enemies*, and with their Interests still unadjusted? Could They resolve to run the Risque, in this Condition, of falling back into a State of *War*, when They were about to purchase *Peace* at a Price, which They thought so dear? Could They resolve to abandon Themselves intirely to *Great Britain*, who had hitherto shewn so much Partiality to the *Emperor*, still their *Enemy*, and whose principal Intercourse with them had been managed hitherto by *France*, to whom They expected soon to become *Enemies*? Certainly They could not resolve upon This, even as I have stated the Case; much less could They do so, if They had such an inveterate Rancour at Heart, as *Publicola* represents. What then could our *Ministers* imagine the *Spaniards* should do upon a Foresight of the *Infanta's* being sent back, and by Consequence of breaking with *France*? I will venture to say, for it is plain and evident, that if They thought any Thing on this Affair, They must think the very Thing, which the *Spaniards* did. The *Spaniards* began to treat at *Vienna*, that They might prepare for the worst; and they delayed concluding their *Treaty*, till what they feared happened. Give me Leave to add that it was easy to see that, whenever the Ministers of *Philip* and the *Imperialists* should come to examine their Master's Interest together, They would soon find these Interests not so hard to reconcile, nor their Want of *Mediators* so great, as They had imagined, whilst Rivalship and Pique kept them at a Distance; and that there were Men of great Weight in the *Emperor's* Court, whose private Interest must render Them particularly zealous to promote this Union. All This happened; and it affords a pregnant

Instance of what I said above, that *Reason of State* will determine the Conduct of Princes; not *old, stale Resentments*.

From what hath been thus stated I desire to make some *Inferences*, and to recommend them to *Publicola's* Consideration.

First then. It appears more ridiculous than ever to talk of the *Promise of Gibraltar* and the *Loss of their Fleet* as lying at the Hearts of the *Spaniards* and breaking out upon this Occasion. Neither must it be said absolutely, that our refusing the *sole Mediation* at *Cambray* threw *Spain* into the Arms of the *Emperor*. In what Respect this Step might contribute to it, will be said presently. But the principal and determining Cause of *Spain's* uniting so closely with the *Emperor* was the sending back the *Infanta*.

Secondly. However sudden the immediate Resolution for the Departure of this Princess from *France* might be; yet this Design had been long in Agitation; so long, that the Suspicion of it had been entertained by the *Spaniards*, and was even publicly own'd by their *Ministers* very many Months before They sent their *full Powers* for carrying on a *Treaty* at *Vienna*.

Thirdly. There was surely, in the whole Progress of this Affair, Notice enough to alarm any reasonable Men; and Time enough to prepare for the Consequences of a Breach between *France* and *Spain*. During the Life of the Duke of *Orleans*, He had, and it could not well be otherwise, the chief Credit at *Madrid*. But it was obvious enough that, by sending back the *Infanta*, his Successor would furnish us with a fair Opportunity of attempting at least to get between *France* and *Spain*, as *France* had stood between *Spain* and us, and of maintaining ourselves in that Post. This indeed was an Object of the utmost Importance; which deserved more than all our Negotiations have cost us; and which it is not impossible might have been accomplished for less. Whenever it shall appear that

we took all the Measures, in our Power, in a proper Manner and at a proper Time, for this great End, infinite Honour will accrue to our *Ministers* without Dispute.

Fourthly. If we had been as much prepared, as one would think we might in so many Months have been, we should have had some great Advantages, which, if we were unprepared for these Events, and even surprized at them, it was impossible we should reap.

The *sole Mediation* could not indeed have been sooner offered than it was; because it could not be offer'd till *Spain* had broke with *France*, and then it was offer'd to us. Nay, if it had been offer'd sooner, I agree that we could not have accepted it sooner, for Reasons of *Policy* and even of *Decency*. But if we had been prepared for these *Events*, we might have struck a great Stroke, as the Generality of the World thought, and continue to think, by accepting the *Mediation* in Form, as soon as it was offer'd. In the Case supposed of *preparatory Measures* taken by us, on a Foresight of such a *Conjuncture*, it is probable that *Spain* would not have been extravagant enough to precipitate so bad a Bargain as she made for herself in the *Vienna Treaty*. Having no *Mediator* nor even *Ally*, she was under a Necessity of granting almost any Terms to the *Emperor*, provided she secured the *main Points*, which she had in View. But, sure of our Support, and she might have had Assurances sufficient for Her to depend upon, it is impossible to think she would have carried her Concessions farther than she needed to have done. In this Case, none of those *Engagements* (which were talk'd of, but which have never yet appear'd) so injurious to *Britain* could have been taken; and we might have had perhaps the Satisfaction of seeing the Peace of *Europe* consummated by the Reconciliation of *two Princes*; the Adjustment of whose Interests had been so long our Care; and whose Union is, without Doubt, in general,

ral, and unless some particular Circumstances of a very extraordinary Nature hinder it, the common Advantage of all Those, who desire to see a *Ballance* of Power preserved in the western World. But I go farther. I will suppose that we had not been able to soften *Spain*; or that we had not attempted it, which perhaps was the Case; that *Spain* looked on us with a jealous, and even a revengeful Eye; and in short that the *Mediation* was offer'd to us without any Design that we should concern our selves in it, and purely for Form sake; yet surely, even in this Case, some Advantage might have been taken by our immediate Acceptance of it. Our Conduct, at least, would have been free from any Objection; and *Spain* and the *Emperor* would have been left without any Colour of Excuse. Might not such a Step have retarded the Conclusion of this famous *Treaty*? Might not Time have been gained; and would not the least Time, in this Case, have been of the greatest Moment to us?

Fifthly. When the *Mediation* was offer'd us, we could not know how soon the *Treaty* would be signed. It cannot be pretended that we did. Our *Refusal* of it therefore must have been grounded purely on these two Considerations, (so often urged in Defence of this Measure) that the *Spaniards* were our *inveterate Enemies*, and that we were in *Alliance* with the *French*. What is meant by being in *Alliance* with the *French*, and making This a Distinction between our Relation to *Them* and our Relation to the *Spaniards*, I am at a Loss to find. We were surely in *Alliance* with *one Nation*, as well as the *other*, from the Moment the King of *Spain* acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*, and the Matters still unsettled at *Cambray* were solely relative to *Him* and to the *Emperor*. If it be meant that we thought the *French* our *Friends*, and knew that the *Spaniards* waited only for a pretended *Occasion to break out into Enmity with us*; I think this Reason will prove the very contrary of what it is
advan-

advanced to prove. Did we suspect that something contrary to our Interest, something dangerous to us, was working up in the Negotiation of *Vienna*; and did We for this very Reason decline an Opportunity of coming at some Knowledge of what was in Agitation there? Did we, for this very Reason, refuse the *best Means* we could have hoped for, of keeping up our ancient Friendship with the *Imperial Court*, and of being in a Condition to check the Court of *Spain*? such Arguments as These will not pass; and whoever produces them hath too mean an Opinion of the rest of Mankind and too presumptuous an Opinion of his own Sufficiency. On the Part of *France*, no Objection could have been made to us, if we had accepted this *Mediation*; for either the Points to be mediated upon were *pure Trifles*; such as the *Titles*, and other Matters of as little Weight, referred to the Congress of *Gambray*; in which Case our accepting the *sole Mediation* must have been quite indifferent to the *French*; or these Points were of *Moment to the general Interest*; and in this Case, the *French* ought to have desired that we should continue in the *Mediation*, for the same Reasons, which ought to have determined us to do so. If the Friendship and Confidence between *Us* and the *French* was not so strict as it hath been represented, they did not deserve the Compliment we made them. If this Friendship and Confidence were so strict, They might and they would have trusted us with Pleasure. Every one knows how concerned and alarmed the *French* were at the Resentment, which the King of *Spain* shewed on this Occasion. Their first Care was to try all possible Means of pacifying Him. If we could have been one of these Means, their Obligations to, and their Confidence in us must have increased. We might have treated for Them, when they could not treat for Themselves. Instead of This, by Dint of Management, We so disposed Affairs, that the *French*
in

in a short Time treated for *Us* with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, with whom We could not treat for ourselves.

The *last Inference* I shall make, from all that hath been said, is This. As sending back the *Infanta*, was the certain and immediate Cause of *throwing Spain into the Arms of the Emperor*; so our Refusal of the *sole Mediation* may justly be deemed an accessory Cause of it. This *Refusal* might give Occasion to carry the *Engagements* of these *two Princes* farther than it was for our Interest that they should go. At least, our *Acceptance* of it was the *sole, probable Measure*, in that Instant, of preventing such *Engagements*; for this Union of the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain* is not, in itself, so terrible. *Spain* might be as well, nay better for *us* and for all *Europe*, in the Arms of the *Emperor* than of *Franco*; and if this Union is become *formidable* to us, we may thank for it our *own Management*, through a long Series of Business, and through divers Revolutions of Affairs; our too much Neglect of *Spain*; our too much Dependance on *France*; our being, upon all Occasions, indefatigably busy about the Interests of *other People*, and leaving to other People the Conduct of *our own*; of which surely a more strange Example cannot be imagined than That, which is before our Eyes. We would not attempt; nay we would not consent to be *Mediators*, when we stood in that Character, and could stand in no other, notwithstanding all the Reasons for it in that *nice Conjunction*. Such was our Delicacy. But we have admitted and (may I be allowed to say so?) we have courted *France* to act as *Mediator*, where she is a *Party*; for *France* is a *Party* to the *Treaty of Hanover*; and the *Treaty of Hanover*, with the *Treaty of Vienna*, give Occasion *jointly* to the Congress of *Soissons* and all the present Negotiations.

That *France* is a *Party* in our *Quarrel*, we have been often told; and that she would act as such, we have

have been often assured. She was to make *besieging Gibraltar a Casus Fæderis*. She was to march an Army into *Roussillon*. What was she not to do? — But we have seen Her act hitherto no Part but That of a *Mediator*; a *common Friend*; but *unconcerned in the Quarrel*. No good Effect hath yet appeared, even from her Offices as *Mediator*. If, by these Offices, she hath kept us *from acting for ourselves*, and made us prefer a *precarious Dependance* to a *vigorous War*, I am sure the Effect of her acting in this Character hath been a *bad one for Britain*.

Nothing can be more plain than that Chain of Causes and Effects, which hath dragged us into our *present Difficulties*; and as these Difficulties increased, the *Obstinacy of Spain* must of Course increase likewise. If *that Court* had never thought of getting *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, the State We brought our selves into, was sufficient to suggest the Design to them. When once *Spain* had purchased the *Emperor's Alliance*, (I may use this Expression; the *Treaty of Vienna* will justify it) she might flatter Herself that he would adhere to Her, even in *unreasonable Expectations*; since He had no more to expect from *Us*, and had so much to receive from *Her*. As soon as we had sagely declined having to do with Her, or for Her, unless in Concert with *France*, with whom she would have nothing to do at that Time, *France* employed all possible Means to be reconciled to Her. Intrigues of every Sort, *ecclesiastical* and *secular*, were set on Foot. They succeeded; and *Spain* saw she had nothing to apprehend. What she had to hope, I determine not, from *this Party* to the *Hanover Treaty*. The *other Princes* and *States*, who acceded to *this Treaty*, acceded in *such a Manner*, as it is easy to prove (if *Publicola* should think fit to deny it) that *We* could have little to hope and *Spain* little to apprehend from *their Engagements*, in her Disputes with us about our *immediate Interests*.

All *other Powers* softened towards each other by Degrees; and by Degrees We got deeper into the Quarrel. *Spain*, from having *no Ally*, came to have *many*; some more, some less to be *depended on*; none to be *fear'd*. From having a *Multitude of Disputes*, she came to have *none*, except with *Us*. We, on the other Hand, from having *none of our Interests in Dispute*, are come to see hardly *any others in Controversy*. From feeling our selves backed by *several Allies*, we are come, at least in the *Points of direct Relation* to us, to have in Effect *no Ally but one*; and with that *one* We own that We are *dissatisfied*; nay We own that We are *afraid* of him. The *Writer*, I am answering, insinuates both; nay, He does it almost in *express Words*. He complains of the *Indifference* of *France* in support of our Interests; and of the *Danger* of engaging in a *War*, in Concert with *France*. Who would have thought it, Mr. *D'Anvers*? Here is the *London Journal* contradicting the *Enquiry*; and I am able to point out to you many more gross Instances of his doing the same Thing. Here is *Publicola* accounting for our *present Difficulties*, now They are come upon us, by the *very Arguments*, which were urged against the *Hanover Treaty*, and which proved that the *natural Consequence* of that *Treaty* was just what the *Event* hath shewn it to be. Those, who wrote against the *Enquiry*, foretold what would happen. *Publicola* justifies the *Ministry*, by complaining that it hath happen'd!

I will mention but one Instance more of this Kind; and That shall be with Relation to the *Ostend Company*. The *grand Quarrel*, says *Publicola*, was between *Us* and *Spain*. The *Ostend Trade*, about which such a *Noise* hath been made, was more the Concern of our Neighbours, both by *Treaty* and *Interest*, than our own. — Now I will leave the World to decide by whom all this *Noise* about the *Ostend Trade* hath been made. Did not you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, and several other

other Writers maintain that *this Company* was of but *little Concern* to us, in Opposition to the whole Party, on the contrary Side, who took all possible Pains, both within Doors and without, to prove that the *Ostend Trade* was a Point of the *utmost Concern to Britain*, and even equal to *Gibraltar* itself. Nay the Author of the *Enquiry* (who hath now the Mortification to see Himself given up, in every material Article, by *both Parties*; even by *Those*, who set Him to work) goes so far, p. 57. of that memorable Performance, as to assert that *Gibraltar* would be of *no Importance* to us, if the *Ostend Company* should be suffered to subsist; and having labour'd that Point, with all his Strength, for no less than twenty Pages together, concludes it thus; *that not only our own East and West India Trade, and That of the Dutch, will be ruined by the Ostend Company, which will be the immediate Effect of it (or rather is so already in some Degree) but also that the Contagion will spread to many other Branches of the British and Dutch Trade; and convey along with it the Riches, the Strength, and the naval Power to the same Spanish Netherlands.*

But were it so that Holland alone would be the Sufferer by the Ostend Trade; (which is far from being the Case;) yet the Ruin of Holland must carry along with it, in the End, the RUIN OF BRITAIN.

Such *Absurdities* as These would provoke Merriment in a Case of less Consequence; but they provoke Indignation in a Case, where the Honour and Interest of our King and Country are so deeply concerned.

Into this State were our *foreign Affairs* brought, when his present Majesty came to the Crown. I mention This the rather, because *They*, who now think it for their Interest to date the Rise of all this Mischief so much *backward* than it can consistently with Truth be dated, may possibly find it for their Interest hereafter, if *new* and almost *unavoidable Difficulties* should

come upon us, in Consequence of what they have done in a FORMER REIGN, to date the Rise of them as much *too forward*. Let it then be remember'd that all, which hath happen'd in THIS REIGN, is no more than a *Prolongation of the same Scene*. The great Scenes of the World are not to be shifted at our Pleasure. They must be continued sometimes, when We are convinced the most that they are *weakly framed*. *Opportunities* must be waited for, and we trust they will happen. We are sure they will be improved by the Capacity, the Vigour, the Experience and Valour of our august Monarch. A *seasonable and powerful Effort* hath often broke through the most complicated Evils. A *Word* hath often effected what the most *tedious Negotiations*, such as We have been accustomed to, could never have brought about.

I have now done with Mr *Publicola* for this Time ; and I hope for good and all. If my Letter is grown into a greater Length than I designed, This hath been owing principally to an earnest Desire of setting *these Matters* (so often and so grossly *misrepresented*) in a just and clear Light. I have advanced no *Facts*, but such as are of publick Notoriety ; such as I know to be true ; and such as I do verily believe to be so, upon such Grounds as reasonable Men have always thought sufficient to constitute, in Cases of this Nature, the highest Probability. I have endeavoured to push no Consequence, nor to strain any Argument farther than I judged it would evidently bear ; for whatever *Publicola* may think, which concerns me little, I assure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I would not have given myself this Trouble, small as it is, of answering Him for any other Reason but This ; that, in order to get well out of our *present Difficulties and Dangers*, it is necessary to know truly how we came into them ; and that He therefore, who contributes to dispel from before the Eyes of Mankind those Mists of
Error,

Error, which are so industriously raised at this Time, does some Service to his King and his Country.

I am, S I R, &c.

C.

JOHN TROT.

From my own Chambers.

I Am well assured, that the foregoing, excellent Piece will, by all unprejudiced Readers, be thought sufficient to clear up the Dispute between me and my Adversaries, concerning the *present State of Affairs*; but as I have lately received another very *seasonable Letter*, on a Point of great Importance, from a *worthy Citizen and Merchant of London*, to whom I shall always pay the utmost Regard, I hope it will be esteemed no improper Sequel to what hath been already advanced.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE ill Usage our *Merchants* have met with from the *Spaniards* hath long been the Subject of Complaint; and I am afraid will continue to be so as long as they know that our *Fleets* come into their Seas, *only to be seen*, as *Publicola* informs us hath been their Business hitherto. But there is a Circumstance of another Nature, which, tho' not of equal Consequence, must secretly weaken us; and which I believe hath escaped the Observation of most Men out of Trade. I mean the *Course of Exchange* between us and other Nations; which, for *two Years past*, has been declining, and now runs very greatly in our disfavour.

I am no *Remitter*, and therefore don't pretend to be Master of this Affair; nor would I take Notice of every trifling Variation; but what I send you arises from a Comparison in my own little Business, which I do with *Holland*.

It will be needless to observe here, that Bills are drawn some at a *short*, and some at a *longer* Time of Payment; so that no Judgment can be form'd upon one and the same; or that the Measure of *Exchange* is made by *their Coin*, and not by *Ours*; namely, by *Skellings* and *Grotes*, twelve of the *latter* being equal to one of the *former*. What I have to say is This.

About two Years ago, I find myself drawn upon at 35 *Skellings* and 2 *Grotes* for a *Pound sterling*, (which I believe is not an Equivalent in *real Value* neither) but now it is come down so low as 33 S. 8 G. at which I have been also drawn upon within a Fort-night past. Moreover my Correspondent tells me, that *plenty of Bills* offer there still, and but *little Money*.

	s.	g.
Now if from what it was, <i>viz.</i> —————	35	2
You deduct what it now is, <i>viz.</i> —————	33	8
	—————	

There will remain a *Skelling* and a *half* ——— 1 : 6
 and if 1 in 33 be 3 in *Cent.* by the same Rule 1 and an half will be 4 and an half in *Cent.* from whence it will follow that ————— lb. 100 Sterling.
 is at this Time in *Holland* worth but — 95 : 10 : 0
 and I am inform'd This is not the Case between *Us* and *Holland only*, but that the same Proportion holds generally in *other Nations*.

Indeed, it must be confess'd that the Times have been, when it hath been worse; but then the Reasons have been obvious; as in the memorable Years 1720 and 1721; or when there have been *Armies* in the Field, and we have had *our own*, and *foreign Troops* in Pay; but little of This can be pleaded now. On the

the Contrary, we have very lately had an *East-India Sale* here, the largest that hath been known, and in which the *Dutch* are supposed to have been Purchasers, to the Value of not less than lb. 400,000. But neither hath This any Effect upon the *Exchange*; which is a Proof that they are in no want of Money here.

Of late Years *England* hath boasted much of the Extent of her *Trade*; but be That as it will, one would be tempted to believe from the Instance before us, that the *Ballance* was against her, did not our gravest Merchants here assure us to the contrary; who, tho' they are not able to determine *what is*, yet all agree in *what is not the Cause*; namely, that the present Demand for Money abroad is not to pay for Goods and Merchandize imported.

I don't know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, whether an Affair of this Nature may come within your Province; but as Standers by are said to see most, and as sedentary Men have sometimes had better, general Notions of *Commerce*, than Those engaged in it; so, I should be glad to see this Mystery unriddled, and for that End I send it you.

I am, your humble Servant,

O.

CIVICUS.

P. S. I have Reason to believe 35 S. 2 G. to be but a low *Exchange*; for, upon looking farther back, I find I have been drawn upon at 35 S. 6. 8. and 10 G. and sometimes as high as 36 *Skellings* for a *Pound Sterling*.





N^o 132. SATURDAY, *January 11, 1728-9.*



Hope the Publication of a Letter in the *Daily Journal* last Week will sufficiently justify me for giving the following a Place in my Paper. For my own Part, I believe the Whole is a *modern Forgery*, and foisted into the *Cottonian MSS*; for as the *former Part*, containing an intemperate Speech of Queen *Elizabeth*, in Vindication of *one of her Ministers* is highly unbecoming the Wisdom, and utterly inconsistent with the Character of that *excellent Princess*, who used to sift out the *Truth*, by hearing what *all Parties* had to say; so the *latter*, which consists of a bitter *Invective* against the Lord *Burleigh*, is no less contrary to the Character given of Him by all *Historians*; and *both* of them contain this great *Impropriety*, that in *one* He is justified by the Queen, for his skilful and frugal Administration of the *Treasury*; in the *other*, He is accused of *Corruption* and *Profusion* in that Office; whereas the Marquis of *Winchester*, his Adversary, was then *Treasurer*; and *Cecil* was never in *that Office* till two Years after, upon His Death. I cannot conceive how He comes to set forth the Marquis of *Winchester*, who had been so many Years *Treasurer*, in so contemptible a Manner; for He appears in the *Answer*, which I found in the same Manuscript, to be a Man of sound Judgment, as well as of unblemished Integrity; and though He was naturally, perhaps, too diffident of his own great Abilities, and too cautious of speaking his Mind; yet He did it with much Strength and Resolution, when it was extorted:

torted from Him by his Queen, in the following Words.

M A D A M,

“ My Duty and Respect alone prevented me from
 “ interrupting your Majesty. Do not believe that I
 “ was in any *Confusion*; or that it proceeded from
 “ Want of a ready Reply that I remain’d thus long si-
 “ lent. I thought it became me better to wait till
 “ you had gone through the Whole of what you
 “ thought proper to urge in Behalf of your *Treasurer*,
 “ than rudely to break in upon your Discourse; but
 “ since your Majesty is graciously pleased to *lay aside*
 “ the Sovereign and condescend to reason with me, it is
 “ my Duty to make some Reply; and to express my
 “ Sentiments to you, on this Occasion, with the ut-
 “ most Freedom; assuring your Majesty, in the most
 “ solemn Manner, that my *Opposition* or *Resentment*,
 “ and what I am now going to say against *this Man*,
 “ does not proceed from any Motives of *Envy* or *pri-
 “ vate Disappointment*, but from the warmest Concern
 “ for your Majesty’s Interest and the Welfare of my
 “ Country.

“ I am very sensible how difficult and dangerous a
 “ Task it is to endeavour to convince a Princess of
 “ your Discernment, that her Favour and Confidence
 “ are *ill placed*; or to destroy the Credit of a Man, who
 “ hath, at all Times, the Advantage of your Ear and
 “ can never want Opportunities of fixing on your
 “ Mind Impressions in his Favour. But as the *wisest*
 “ *Princes* are not able to secure Themselves against
 “ *Falshood* and *Hypocrisy*, I must conjure your Majesty
 “ to reject that false Notion, which some People en-
 “ deavour to inculcate, that it is any Reflection on a
 “ Prince’s *Understanding*, to be sometimes deceived
 “ by *specious Abilities*, *bold Assurances* and *solemn*
 “ *Professions*.

“ I must

“ I must therefore beg Leave, with all Humility,
 “ to dissent from your Majesty, and freely to declare
 “ my Opinion that *this Man* is neither so great, so
 “ wise, so honest, or so necessary, as I am sorry to
 “ see He hath found Means to persuade you He is —
 “ What! must the whole *Machine* of Government
 “ stand still, should any Accident happen to this *one*
 “ Wheel of it only.——Surely He is not immortal at
 “ least.——Must then your Country be ruined; must
 “ the Constitution be lost, if He should die?——Is
 “ there no One able to supply his Place?——He must
 “ have an uncommon Assurance, if He hath attempt-
 “ ed to persuade you into such a Belief.——No,
 “ Madam, This hath been the common Cant of *bad*
 “ *Ministers*, in all Reigns; but Experience shews us
 “ how ridiculous it is. *England*, I trust, will never
 “ be in so deplorable a Condition, as to depend and
 “ subsist on the Life of *one Minister*.

“ His *Arrogance* indeed is great. His *Merit*, God
 “ knows, is small. His *Vanity* swells Him to an enor-
 “ mous Size; and makes Him, in his own Imaginati-
 “ on, a meer *Gyant in Politicks*; but his Conduct, in
 “ publick or private Life, speaks Him to be low and
 “ inconsiderable; a very *Pygmy of State*.——If *little*
 “ *Artifices* and *Tricking* constitute a *Statesman*, He is
 “ one. If *consummate Abilities*, nay if more than
 “ *ordinary Abilities* are required, He is none.

“ May I presume, Madam, to answer the many
 “ Questions you have urged to me by one short Ques-
 “ tion to your Majesty?——Can He shew us one me-
 “ ritorious Action? Can He, notwithstanding all his
 “ Boasting, name one good, one great, one beneficial
 “ or truly national Thing, that He hath done, during
 “ the Course of a long and expensive Administration?
 “ —The *single Thing*, of this Kind, which He pre-
 “ sumes to arrogate to Himself, is not alas! owing to
 “ Him; but was obvious to common Sense, and prac-
 “ ticed long before by his *Predecessors*. “ Do

“ Do even his own Flatterers pretend to deny his
“ Ignorance in *foreign Negotiations*? And have we
“ not *late Instances* to convince us of his Insufficiency
“ in *those Affairs*, in which He boasts of the *greatest*
“ *Abilities* and *Experience*?

“ Your Majesty was pleased to ask, whether we
“ could offer *one Instance of his Guilt*; or were able
“ to produce a *single Proof* of his Male-Adminis-
“ tration——Be assured, Madam, that many amazing *In-*
“ *stances of his Guilt*, with sufficient *Proof* to support
“ them, will appear, whenever the Circumstances of
“ the Times shall make it prudent to produce them;
“ but, should your Majesty discover any Coldness in
“ receiving the Complaints of your People *out of Par-*
“ *liament*, it will go a great Way towards putting it
“ in his Power to keep you from hearing any Thing
“ against Him *in Parliament*. We could otherwise
“ charge Him with a loose, careless, and neglectful
“ Administration of the *Revenue*; which He hath la-
“ vished away in *exorbitant Pensions* and *unaccounta-*
“ *ble secret Service*. It would appear, that if He hath
“ not himself introduced *Corruption* into this King-
“ dom; He hath, at least, carried it to a greater
“ Heighth than was ever known before, in any Age,
“ or in any Nation; that He hath both amassed and
“ spent an immense Treasure, in a very few Years;
“ infinitely more than the *Salaries* and *known Pro-*
“ *fits* of all his great Employments; that He hath
“ endeavoured, in a mean and base Manner, to esta-
“ blish Himself in your Majesty's Favour, by ren-
“ dering *others* unjustly suspected of *Disloyalty*; and
“ what is still worse, by pursuing *Measures*, which
“ He hopes will really tend to alienate their *Affec-*
“ *tions*.

“ If you are not already sufficiently convinced of
“ This, his own Consciousness will, in all Probabili-
“ ty, very soon corroborate what I have said, by ap-
“ plying to you for an *Act of Grace*. Nay, we are
“ not

“ not ignorant of the *Method*, by which He designs
 “ to bring it about. Multitudes of your Subjects
 “ have incurred great Penalties by offending against
 “ some very severe, though perhaps necessary, Laws
 “ relating to your *Customs*. The Number and unhap-
 “ py Circumstances of these Persons will be urged to
 “ your Majesty as a Reason for extending your Mer-
 “ cy by an *Act of general Pardon*; whereas the true
 “ and real Design will be to screen this *great Offen-*
 “ *der*, from the Punishment his Crimes deserve.

“ Believe me, Madam, that what is called *Calum-*
 “ *ny* and *Asperſion* is the just and serious Representati-
 “ on of your Majesty’s best affected Subjects, who do
 “ not desire to ruin any Man unheard. — Be as-
 “ ſured that what is stigmatized by the Name of *Clam-*
 “ *mour* (the Clamour of a *small, inconsiderable Jun-*
 “ *to*) is the loud Complaint of all your People. —
 “ Look into the *City*, that great Emporium and chief
 “ Support of your whole Kingdom. Enquire of the
 “ *Merchants*, the most valuable of your Majesty’s
 “ Subjects, whether *Trade* does not stagnate; whe-
 “ ther their *Commerce* is not interrupted; whether their
 “ *Ships* are not taken; whether their *Effects* are not
 “ seized by the *Spaniards*. — Take a View of the
 “ *Country* and ask the *landed Gentleman* whether he
 “ does not severely feel the Effects of the *present*
 “ *Measures*. Ask the laborious *Manufacturer* whe-
 “ ther he does not suffer very grievously for Want of
 “ Employment. In short, ask every Man, of what
 “ Condition soever, who hath Liberty to speak,
 “ whether He does not labour under some present
 “ Distress and under strong Apprehensions of greater
 “ — Nay, press it to the Consciences of the most
 “ zealous, even of his *own Party*. Give them your
 “ royal Word that no Inconveniencies shall attend
 “ them for speaking the Sincerity of their Hearts;
 “ and I will venture to promise your Majesty that you
 “ will scarce find one in a Thousand of these very
 “ Men,

“ Men, who talk and act for Him the most vigorously
 “ in publick, who will not privately express, when
 “ all Fears are thus removed, the strongest Sentiments
 “ of Uneasiness and Dissatisfaction under that hard and
 “ dirty Drudgery, which *his Measures* make necessary,
 “ and to which their *own Corruption* obliges them
 “ to submit,

“ What Resource, what Hopes of Preservation can
 “ a *Minister*, thus obnoxious, thus universally detest-
 “ ed, have; but by dividing the Interest of his Prince
 “ from the Interest of his Country? — As He
 “ owes his *Influence* to nothing but *Corruption*, so He
 “ can have no *Security* but in *Force*. — Thus you,
 “ Madam, who are the Darling of your People, and
 “ in whose Wisdom they repose the utmost Confidence,
 “ must govern by *such Expedients*, for the sake of
 “ supporting an *evil Minister*, as none but the *worst*
 “ of *Princes* can ever stand in need of.

“ This, Madam, is of the greater Weight and de-
 “ serves more Consideration; because you may be
 “ convinced from the History of this, as well as of
 “ all Countries, that *Ministers* have often blended
 “ their *own Interest* so artfully with That of *their So-*
 “ *vereign*, that even Princes, of the greatest Wisdom
 “ and Experience, have often been so far deceived
 “ as to pursue Measures, which They thought ne-
 “ cessary for carrying on their own Affairs; when, in
 “ Truth, They were calculated for no other Purpose
 “ than the Support of their *wicked Ministers*. This
 “ makes you, Madam, frequently displeased with the
 “ Conduct of your *best Subjects*; who do not mean an
 “ Opposition to *your Government*, but to rescue you
 “ from the Hands of your Majesty's and your Peo-
 “ ple's *common Enemies*.

“ Is it possible that your Majesty should condescend
 “ to enter into a formal Panegyrick on such a *wicked*
 “ (and I will repeat and prove it too) such a *weak Mi-*
 “ *nister*? — Can you think that when the Struggle
 “ shall

“ shall come to be between *English Liberty* and the
 “ Support of *this Man*, the Competition will be long
 “ or doubtful? ——— No, Madam, He must fall;
 “ and, let his Support be what it will, the *Constituti-*
 “ *on* must be preserved.

“ *Clamour*, when it proceeds from the *Envy* of a
 “ *few* or the *Faction* of some *discontented Persons*, is
 “ easily distinguished from what is the *general Voice* of
 “ the *People*; and when an universal *Hatred* is conceived
 “ against *any Minister*, you may depend upon it that
 “ it cannot be without *Reason* and *Foundation*. ———
 “ For the Sake of your *People* therefore, and for
 “ your own sake, do not too long defer seeing the Ne-
 “ cessity, which you will certainly be soon under, of
 “ giving Him up to the Justice of an *injur'd* and *in-*
 “ *cens'd People*.

“ It was wisely said by that great Prince *Henry*
 “ *the fourth*, now reigning in *France*, when his Peo-
 “ ple address'd Him to dismiss some of his Ministers,
 “ *that though He knew no Evil of them Himself, He*
 “ *should not think them fit to continue in his Service,*
 “ *since They were grown odious to his People.*

“ The Point, Madam, in a few Words is This.
 “ You have, in a Manner, reposed the whole Ad-
 “ ministration in his Hands; and as He never fails to
 “ take to Himself the Merit of all *lucky Accidents*
 “ and *Events*, he ought certainly to be answerable for
 “ the visible Effects of his own *weak* and *wicked Coun-*
 “ *sels*; and as much as He may affect to despise the
 “ Junto of *would-be Ministers*, as your Majesty is
 “ pleas'd to call them, I will defy the meanest of
 “ them to manage Affairs more wretchedly than He
 “ hath done.

“ If He hath not received any *Pension* or *Gratuity*
 “ from *foreign Crowns* (which some *late Conventions*
 “ and *Subsidies* give us too much Reason to suspect)
 “ it is demonstrable that He hath lavished away im-
 “ mense Sums to no Purpose, in *foreign Courts*. ———

“ If

“ If He hath not held *Correspondence* with any of
“ your Majesty’s Enemies, [it cannot be deny’d that
“ He hath brought *Difficulties* upon your Govern-
“ ment and *Distresses* upon your People.

“ I am ready to grant, amidst all our Calamities,
“ that *Justice is impartially administer’d*; and that
“ its Seats are filled with as *able and upright Men*, as
“ ever adorned the Bench in any Reign. The whole
“ Nation rejoices in This, and feels the Benefit of it.
“ But I was not a little surprized to hear your Majesty
“ urge This in your *Treasurer’s* Behalf. Does He then
“ fill up the *Seats of Justice*; or shall He arrogate to
“ Himself the Merit of that Choice, which properly
“ and solely belongs to your Majesty? It would be of
“ signal Use to his Designs, if those venerable Dispen-
“ sers of Justice were as corrupt as He hath made
“ others, and would be guided by his Direction; but,
“ Thanks to their worthy Principles, and not to his
“ *Integrity*, they scorn to submit Themselves to his
“ Influence; and if he was instrumental in promoting
“ some of them to that high ‘Trust, it was, perhaps,
“ without any Regard to their Merit, but in order to
“ get them out of *another Place*, where He had more
“ Reason to be apprehensive of their *great Abilities*
“ and *inflexible Virtue*.

“ But since your Majesty hath thought fit to men-
“ tion these *great Oracles of Law*, I will put the Whole
“ of what I have to say upon this single Issue. Send
“ for them, Madam, and examine them, Man by Man,
“ upon this Head. Tell them you expect they should
“ deal sincerely by You, as the Happiness of your fu-
“ ture Government depends upon their Advice; and
“ if *Eleven* of them, at least, out of the *Twelve*, do not
“ give Him up, I will promise never to open my Lips
“ against Him any more.

“ I shall say nothing of his *shining in Senates*; since
“ every Body knows what his *chief Abilities* and most
“ *shining Talents* have always been in those *Assemblies*.

“ Having thus laid my Thoughts before your Majesty with that Plainness and Sincerity, which my Duty required, I most humbly submit them to your royal Consideration. I have the Satisfaction at least to believe, whether I succeed or not, that your Majesty is convinced, by my *long and faithful Services*, that no other Motive could have engaged me to use this Freedom, though permitted by your Majesty, than the most inviolable Attachment to your sacred Person and Government, and that unshaken Zeal for the true Interests of my Country, which I know to be most predominant in your Majesty’s own royal Breast.

C.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas an Infant, of about fourteen Years of Age, whose Name is D. CARLOS, hath not been heard of these six Months last past; some Persons, having great Need for Him at this Time, are willing to give a very considerable Sum of Money to any one, who can give Tale or Tidings of Him. He will be extremely wanted to appear at Westminster the next Term. It is supposed that He may be lurking somewhere in Lombardy; though upon the last Enquiry He was said to be travelling in Spain, France and Germany all at once.

In a few Days will be published,

HORACE against ROBIN; or, *Some seasonable Remarks on the late Difference between the Authors of the LONDON and the BRITISH JOURNALS.*

——— Tanta est Discordia FRATRUM.

Printed for T. W. in Pater-noster-Row.

SATURDAY,

N^o 133. SATURDAY, *January 18, 1728-9.*TO CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,

AVING shewn, in a former Letter, the Importance of our Colonies, especially in *America*, and how much the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom depend on them; I shall now enquire into the State and Condition of our Neighbours, in those Respects; particularly of the *Dutch* and the *French*, who are our most dangerous Rivals in Trade; though one of your Adversaries was pleased very lately to assert (out of Ignorance indeed I believe) *that neither the Dutch nor the French have any Settlements or Trade in those Parts like US.*

This therefore is a Subject, which seems highly seasonable at present, and deserves the Consideration of every *Englishman*; since it is notorious that the former have deprived us of some valuable Possessions both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, which we once enjoyed; and that the latter have made so great a Progress in their Settlements in the *western World*, within thirty Years past, as must give *England*, and even all *Europe*, but a melancholy Prospect.

It is certain that *Spain* and *Portugal* are in Possession of the richest Countries in the Universe; notwithstanding which, the Liberties of *Europe* can be in little Danger from either of those Nations, considering their Constitutions and Policy, which are the Security of Christendom; but we cannot be too vigilant and

jealous of *another Nation*, which hath always had more extensive Views, and hath not only encroached upon some of her Neighbours, but hath almost incredibly improved and strengthened her Colonies and Plantations in the *West-Indies*.

The *Dutch* are, at this Time, in Possession of no considerable Places in *South America*; for *Curafce*, *Eustatia* and *Saba* are small barren Islands, or rather Rocks; but in *North America* They have *Surinam*, which is Part of *Guiana* on the main Continent; where, after great Labour and Difficulty, They have cultivated a low, boggy Soil, almost as bad as their own Country once was, and have extended their Settlements above an hundred Leagues up the Country; by which Means They have not only the Convenience of several navigable Rivers, but have very much improved those Parts; which now produce great Quantities of Sugar, and several other valuable Commodities.

They have likewise a Settlement at the Cape of *Good Hope*, and several others on the West Coast of *Africa*.

But the principal Acquisitions of the *Dutch* are in the *East Indies*, where They have outstrip'd all other *European Nations*; for by their wise Institutions, for the Increase of *Trade* and Dominion, They have been enabled to settle potent Colonies; to make many and great Conquests; and to erect a mighty Empire in those remote Parts; where They are able to equip a considerable Fleet and to raise an Army, capable almost of controuling and giving Laws to the *Eastern World*.

Though the *French* were none of the first in Undertakings of this Kind, yet They are not far behind hand with other Nations; especially in the *West Indies*.

In *North America* They have *Canada* and the Isle of *Cape Briton*; and by their Settlements on the River *Mississippi*, even as far as the Borders of *Mexico* (which
our

our News-Papers have late'y informed us are in a flourishing Condition) They have the Opportunity of erecting Forts along the several Lakes between That and *Canada* ; which may in Time become very troublesome to our *Northern Plantations*. We have the more Reason to be jealous of their Proceedings in those Parts, since we have had repeated Informations and just Grounds to believe that the *Indian Nations*, who have given so much Disturbance to our People in *New England* and *Carolina*, have been spirited up by them, notwithstanding the *Harmony* and *good Agreement*, which at present subsists between the two Crowns in *Europe*.

In *South America* They have *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, and some other Islands of less Consequence ; as also near two Thirds of the great Island of *Hispaniola*, which is in a very thriving Condition, and gives just Apprehensions to the neighbouring Islands, and even to the Continent of *New Spain*.

In *Africa* They have some Settlements on the River *Senegall*, *Gambia* and other Parts of the *West Coast* ; as likewise some Places in the *East Indies*, though of no great Consequence.

It would undoubtedly be a very seasonable and useful Employment to make some Enquiry into the different Methods and Policies of *those Nations*, with respect to their *Colonies*, and to compare them with our *own*. This will be the most probable Method of finding out the true Causes of the present Declension of our *Plantations*, and enable us to rectify any Mistakes, which have been committed and may have given our Neighbours an Advantage over us in *those Parts*.

The *French* are so intent on the Improvement of their *Colonies*, that They omit nothing, which may contribute to their Prosperity. *Lands* are not only assigned to such Persons as will go over and manure them, but They have Credit given by the Publick for

Negroes and other Materials necessary for *Planting*. The Salaries of their Governors are paid by the *King*. Care is taken not to send over *necessitous* or *ignorant Persons* to preside over Them ; and They are restrained, under severe Penalties, from accepting *Donatives*, of any Kind, from the People. *Justice* is duly and impartially administer'd. In short, They are supported and encouraged in their *Manufactures* and *Commerce*, instead of being *pillaged* and *oppressed* ; for though They are *Slaves* at home, They are *Freemen* abroad ; whereas some of their Neighbours may be truly said to be the Reverse ; and, however They may boast of *Liberty* at home, too often find themselves in a State of *Slavery* abroad.

I need not mention the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, for several Years past, on the *British Trade*, both in the Ocean and the *West Indies*. They are too severely felt, and have been too often complained of, though without Redress, to need any Repetition. But I think it very surprizing, that the *French*, who are cordially engaged in the *same Alliance* with us, and have besides made such formidable Encroachments on the Dominions of *Spain* in *America*, should be allowed to carry on their Trade without any Interruption or Annoyance, whilst the *British Subjects* have been forced to submit to such provoking Indignities, and almost irretrievable Injuries.

It is likewise Matter of no less Wonder, that a *Nation*, so unequal in *naval Power* to That of *Great Britain*, should be suffered to repeat their Insults upon us so long together under an Administration, which is so watchful over the Rights and Properties of their Countrymen.

We are told indeed, by a * *late Writer* (who seems to speak with the Confidence of a *Plenipo*, though He

* See the *British Journal* of Saturday Jan. 4.

blunders in the *Dates* of almost every Particular) *that these hostile Measures of the Spaniards, after the Preliminaries were ratified, were greatly owing to the Indifference of our Merchants, who might have check'd their Insolence, had They sued out Letters of Marque and Reprisal; and, if I am not mistaken, you too, Mr. D'Anvers, imputed these Insults and Depredations to the same Cause; but if I could suspect two such grave Writers of Irony and Banter, I confess it would be on this Occasion; for surely you cannot be ignorant (at least we Citizens are very well convinced) that our late Inactivity is not owing to the Tameness or Indifference of the British Merchants.*

The profound Politician, before-mentioned, observes very justly, *that our Trade is a very tender and popular Concern.* He might have added, that it is an *essential Concern*; for, what could *England* do, under her present great Burthen of *Debt*, without *Trade*; which *only* can support our *Credit*, by enabling us to pay the *Interest* of it? And, what must become of that *Trade* without due Protection? Hath it not been a Point chiefly regarded by the best and greatest of our *Princes*? Hath it not employ'd the Attention of our *Legislature* in all Times past, and been the principal Object of our *ablest Ministers*?

From whomsoever therefore this *Indifference* or *Neglect* hath proceeded, I believe there is no Instance in our History, nor in That of any other Nation, where, for so many Years past, the Subjects of *one Prince* have been suffered to commit Depredations on Those of *another*, of much *superior Strength*, without any Attempt to prevent them by *Ships of War*, or *Letters of Reprisal*.——I hope the *Spaniards* are not to be always thus in a State of Hostility with *Us*, in *America*; and We always at Peace with *Them*, though at the same Time under all the Inconveniencies and at all the Expences of a *War*.——I am glad at least to hear,

hear, from *this Writer*, that the Court of Madrid hath not only formally recalled their Privateers, but that They are now actually returned to their Ports and their Commissions cancelled.

The chief Design of this Letter was to compare the present Condition of our Colonies and Trade in the *West-Indies* with That of our Neighbours; and to shew the Advantages, which They have over us. There is another Circumstance, which seems to affect Them, as well as Us; and That is the *Settlements* and *Manufacturies*, which are springing up in all Parts of *Europe*, and seem to have taken their Rise chiefly from some late unaccountable Measures, which occasioned the Disturbance of *Europe*.—— But This, perhaps, may be the Subject of another Letter.

O.

Bedford-Row,
Jan. 10. 1728-9.

I am, S I R, &c

CHARLES FREEPORT.



N^o 134. SATURDAY, Jan. 25, 1728-9.

*An ANSWER to a LETTER in the
Daily Journal of the 8th Instant, relat-
ing to our Exports, Coinage, Paper-
Credit, &c.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



S nothing can be more grievous to an honest Man, who has any Regard and Concern for the Welfare and Happiness of his Country, than to find it from a rich and flourishing Condition, daily declining in its *Wealth, Power and Reputation*; so next to This, scarce any Thing can be more provoking than to see *those Persons*, who have had the chief Hand in bringing these Misfortunes upon the Publick, insulting them, under their *Distresses*, with false and fallacious Reasonings to prove their *present Prosperity*; in Contradiction to the general *Sense and Feeling* of the whole Kingdom; and This is the more mischievous, when bold and positive Assertions come from *those Persons*, who are presumed to be perfectly apprised of the Truth and Certainty of the Facts they alledge, upon these Occasions; but there are some Cases, in which no *Assertions*, no *supposed Authority* can have any Weight; which I take to be the Case of the *Daily Journal* of the 8th Instant. I shall therefore trouble you with some few Observations

ons upon it ; and if in doing This, any Thing should be mentioned, which *these Gentlemen* express so great a Desire to conceal from the Publick, they must blame themselves as the *Authors* of them ; since, if they did not think it their Interest and make it their Endeavour to spread these Delusions over the Kingdom and, if possible, to put out the Eyes of the People, I should not have engaged in so irksome a Task, which cannot be more displeasing to *them*, than it is disagreeable to *me*.

This Writer, in order to prove his Assertion, that we are at this Time in a *thriving and flourishing Condition*, has heaped together and reckoned up all the Benefits and Advantages, which the Nation has reaped from a successful and improving Trade of almost two hundred Years past ; by which our Wealth and Riches have been greatly increased, as well as *Luxury* ; from whence chiefly proceeds the great Quantity of *Plate, Jewels, &c.* and we have been enabled to make great *Improvements of Land, &c.* as mentioned by this Author ; and the Yeomanry and Farmers of *England* have lived better than they did formerly ; but is This any Contradiction to what is too well known and felt ; that our *Trade and Manufactures* are *now*, and have been some *few Years past*, in a *declining Condition* ; and that we are gradually falling from that Prosperity we have enjoyed ; which it is not to be imagined is to be so totally lost and destroyed at once, that we shall have no remaining Marks of it left ?

The great Stress he lays upon the *advanced Price of Land*, and the present *low Interest of Money*, is as little a Proof of the Truth of his Assertion ; for both These have, in a great Measure, arisen from quite *other Causes* than the increase of our *national Riches*.

The sudden great Rise of the *Price of Land*, it is well known, was occasioned by an unequal Distribution of the Money of the Kingdom into few Hands,
by

by the *South-Sea Scheme* ; and This, together with the *Reduction of the Interest of the publick Debt*, continues it at present. The Collection of above *thirty three Millions* into one Capital by the *South-Sea Scheme* ; and the *Reducing the Interest* at once of this great Sum, which so much exceeds all the Cash of the Kingdom, is the true Reason of the present *low Interest of Money* ; which has by Degrees been diverted out of the useful Channels, in which it was formerly employed, before the *national Debt* was contracted ; and This, like the collecting together many Rivulets, may give an Appearance of *Plenty*, even in the midst of *Scarcity* ; but it is to be feared will, in Time, waste and destroy, instead of increasing our real Riches.

The Proprietors of the Funds having now no other Way of gaining a Subsistence by the Improvement of their Money, but by lending it to the Government, they must take what Interest They are pleased to give them ; and the *great monied Corporations*, as long as their *Credit* subsists, are enabled to carry this Diminution of Interest, and the Value of Money, still farther, since they are at no other Charge but a little *Paper* to effect it ; and by these Means they may facilitate the encreasing our *Debts*, instead of promoting our *Wealth* and *Riches* ; and I believe every considering Man dreads the Consequences of it.

I readily agree with this Writer, that a *Paper Credit* cannot long subsist, without a *sufficient Fund of Riches* to support it ; and I believe he will not deny that the *Lands and Revenues of Great-Britain* are an ample Security for the Payment of the *publick Debt*, for which they stand engaged ; and therefore whilst we continue in a State of Tranquility and Safety, and keep a reasonable Proportion of *Specie* to carry on the Circulation, this *Paper Credit* will, and does answer all the Uses of *Money*, and give us the Appearance of the *real Wealth* we enjoyed before the Community
spent

spent *fifty odd Millions*, and contracted the *national Debt*; and it is well known that the *Mississippi* and *South-Sea Schemes*, whilst they lasted, gave the same Proof of Riches in *raising of Land*, &c. But was a greater Absurdity ever endeavoured to be imposed upon Mankind, than to argue from hence that our *Paper Credit* (which owes its Rise and Foundation to our *Debts*) can be the Effect of our *Wealth*, when nothing but Necessity created them, and still continues this heavy Burthen upon the Kingdom?

It must be allowed that our *Paper Credit* has been, and is, in our present Circumstances, of great Service and Conveniency to us; but the Example of the *South-Sea* and *Mississippi* ought to be sufficient Warnings not to fancy that we may stretch it to any Lengths we please; for tho' the Extravagance, to which *these Schemes* were carried, made their Fall as sudden and surprizing as their Rise; yet it is manifest that a Mischief of this Kind may come by *flower Degrees*, and a Man may be as certainly ruined by the continual Loss of *small Sums*, as He, who is undone by *one Chance of the Dye*.

As long as we continue to make use of our *Credit* in the Improvement of our *Trade and Commerce*, and in Services, which visibly tend to the Benefit and Advantage of the Kingdom; so long we may depend upon its Continuance with us; but if it is employed in *Luxury* and *unnecessary Expences*, *Credit* from that Moment decreases, and destroys what it was design'd to support.

I shall, for Argument sake, allow that all the *Extracts*, published from the *Custom-House Books*, tho' supported by no *Authority*, are genuine; which is a very large Concession, considering the many *Accounts* that have been found to be *otherwise*, which had the Appearance of much *better Vouchers*; yet notwithstanding This, I shall proceed to shew, that they are a
very

very *chimerical* Foundation to support what they are brought to prove.

To begin with the *Entries* of the *Exports*. It is well known that the Merchants, to save themselves the Trouble and small Fee of taking out *another Cockett*, always enter *much larger Quantities* of Goods than they actually *export*; and other *fictitious Entries* are frequently made of these Commodities, in order to raise the *Value* of them, from the Appearance of the great *Quantities exported*, and the less remaining to be sold. These *fictitious Entries* are often increased, by the Practice of the Owners, and Masters of Ships, to incourage the Merchants to load Goods on board a Ship, put up on a general Freight, with the Hopes that she will be very soon dispatched; and I believe it is not unusual for Merchants themselves to put This in Practice sometimes, to support their *declining Credit*; or to give them the Reputation of being *greater Dealers* than they really are; so that the *largest Entries* may be made when the *fewest Goods* are *exported*; and it is not impossible that the same Arts may be used to support the Assertion of our *present Prosperity*.

To these Uncertainties of making any Judgment of the *Quantities* of Goods exported, from the *Entries*, we must add the Impossibility of making any reasonable Estimate of the *Value* of the Goods so exported; by Reason of the great Variety, different Kinds and Prices of them. For Instance, will any Man pretend to make an Estimate of the Value of *Perpetts, Stuffs, long and short Cloths*, from the *Quantity* only, when they differ in their Price more or less as one is to four or five; so that he may be very easily mistaken some hundred thousand Pounds in every Year?

He has, indeed, very artfully compared two Periods of *six Years* each; from 1715 to 1721; and from 1721 to 1727; but *two Years* of the first Period were during the Time of the *Sicilian or Spanish War*; when

our *Trade* was prohibited in *Spain*, and greatly interrupted in *other Parts*; and in 1720 and 1721, two other Years of the same Period, the Mischiefs of the *South-Sea Scheme* put almost an entire Stop to all *Trade*; and yet these Accounts, uncertain as they are, shew the contrary of what they are brought to prove; for the *Exports* of 1716 and 1717 are above a *Million* and *forty thousand Pounds* more than the *Exports* of 1726 and 1727; and in this *last Year* they are *less* than they have been at any Time within these *twelve Years*, except 1718 and 1719, for the Reasons before-mentioned; and I am inclined to believe, that the Year 1728 is still less favourable to his Purpose, since he has not thought fit to give any Account of it.

But as I do not think *these Accounts* can enable us to make any certain Judgment, either of the *Decay* or *Increase* of our *Trade*; I mention This only to shew, that if they prove any Thing, it is that our *Manufactures* are in a *declining Way*; which is all that I ever heard lamented or complained of; for I suppose no Body is so foolish as to think or say, that the *weakest* or *wickedest Ministry* that ever was in any Nation can, in the Compass of a few Years, wholly deprive them of a *Trade*, which has been acquired by the Labour and Industry of almost *two Centuries*.

If we would be fully instructed in the Truth, which is contended for, we must have recourse to other Means for our Information than the *Entries* of the *Custom-House*; and These I take to be what follow. *First*, the *Prices* of the *woollen Manufactures* in all Parts of the Kingdom; and These, I may venture to assert, have gradually decreased some few Years past, and are now from 20 to 25 *per Cent* less than they were formerly; except the *superfine Cloths* chiefly consumed at home; and the Price of *Wool* is fallen in Proportion.

In the next Place, the Quantity of *woollen Goods made* is much less than it was a few Years since. Many
of

of the Traders in these Commodities are broke, and Numbers of Workmen unemployed; by which Means the heavy Rates paid to the *Poor* in all the *clothing Towns* of the Kingdom are severely felt from *Exeter* to *Norwich*; and no *Entries* from the *Custom-House* Books will be thought of any Weight, in Contradiction to these too well known Truths. It is, besides, very much to be feared that if the *Fleet*, which is now going from *Spain* to the *West-Indies*, should be wholly laden with the *Manufactures* of *France*, as I am assured it will, the *English Merchants* not being suffered to put any on board, the People in those Parts may be reconciled to wearing the *French Commodities*; and we shall find the utmost Difficulty to retrieve this valuable Branch of our Commerce.

As to what *this Writer* mentions upon the Articles of the Exportation of *Coals, Lead, Tin, &c.* we have, by the Profits of our *former Trade*, as I before took Notice, been enabled to open and work more *Mines* than in the preceding Age; and as these Commodities can be had no where but from us, they will be sent abroad, more or less, as there is a Demand for them; but This is no more a Proof of our *flourishing Trade* at present, than the *Gold and Silver*, which the *Spaniards* bring from *Mexico* and *Peru*, is of the Trade of that Nation.

The Increase of the *Tonnage* of *Shipping*, employed in *Trade* these twelve Years past, is likewise no certain Proof of a *flourishing and beneficial Trade*; for the *Imports and Exports* being in this Account blended together, there is no Judgment to be made from them; for great Part of this *Shipping* may be employed to our Prejudice, in *importing* greater Quantities of Goods than formerly from abroad, to supply our *Luxuries* at home. We see every Year many Ships, at the Time of the *Vintage*, sent out empty for the Wines of *France, Spain and Portugal*; and an Increase of *Ton-*

nage on this Account is, I believe, no Increase of *Riches* to us.

There is a considerable Number of Ships now employed more than formerly in the *Norway Trade*, to bring *Deals* and other *Timber* to supply the great Increase and Luxury of our *Buildings* and the Decay of our *own Timber*, to the no small Loss of the Kingdom, these *Imports* being purchased by our *Specie*.

The late great Addition to our *Capital* has likewise very much increased the *Shipping* employed in bringing *Coals* to this Town ; which are also more used in most Parts of *England* than in former Times ; and this Trade, tho' a very desirable Nursery of our Seamen, yet brings us no *new Wealth*.

There is another Reason to be given for this Increase of *Shipping* likewise ; which, I am afraid, is on many Accounts, very determinal to us ; and That is the late Fabrick of Ships in *New England*, which are sent here to be sold to all Nations.

These, with many other accidental Causes, as the Transport of our *land Forces*, sending Provisions to our *Fleets abroad*, &c. may very well account for the Increase of *Tennage* on the *Custom-House Register* ; but are far from being any Proofs of the Improvement and Increase of a *beneficial Trade*, which brings any new Acquisition of *Riches* into the Kingdom ; for, in some of the Instances before-mentioned, it appears they are constant and certain Drains of Wealth from us ; which is so far confirmed by this Account ; that there appears to be 17160 Tons more entered in 1726 and 1727, when the Exportation of our *woollen Manufactures* was so much less, than there were entred in 1716 and 1717, when the Exportation was greater.

This Writer was well aware of one Argument, that may be brought against him of more Force than all Those he has produced to prove our present *prosperous Circumstances* ; and That is the *Exchange* being against us. He therefore attempts, as well as he is able,

able, to give some Sort of Reason for it ; but let us now examine the Strength of it. He allows that *Amsterdam*, by its Wealth and Situation is the *Center of all commercial Correspondence* between the several Parts of *Europe* ; and that the Rate of *Exchange* between *Us* and *Holland* must, in some Degree, affect That between us and all other Countries ; and does it not follow from hence, that if the *Exchange* to *Holland* is not in our Favour, the whole *Ballance of Trade* is against us ? He endeavours indeed to amuse and divert us from the Subject, by saying This was commonly the Case, during the two last Wars ; but what is This to the present Purpose ? For whatever Sums we may send abroad for *Troops*, *Subsidies* and other *Services* ; which, by what he insinuates, must be very considerable, and perhaps more than is known ; yet I hope they bear no Proportion to the many *Millions*, which were necessarily remitted for the Maintenance of near 200,000 Men, and the other Expences of *those Wars*.

The Interest, that we pay to *Foreigners* for their great Capital in our *Funds*, which I am heartily sorry for, will as little account for the present Difference of *Exchange* ; for This must certainly have affected it much more, when our Interest was at 5 or 6 *per Cent.* or higher than at this Time, when we pay but 4 *per Cent* only.

And his other Argument is as little convincing ; since I believe the Fact is not true ; but suppose, as he affirms, that *Foreigners* are drawing away their *Principal* from us ; yet he owns, and the Nature of the Thing will satisfy us that This must be done by *Degrees*. If therefore the Profits of our whole *Trade* do not enable us to pay these *Debts*, and supply the Specie taken from us ; is any Thing more evident than that we must become *poorer* ? This is one farther Proof that all our *Paper Money* is not *real Wealth*. And in case *Foreigners* have so large a Sum, as he mentions

in our *Funds*, He and his Patrons will do well to consider what farther Mischiefs may arise to us, in case they draw away this Money, and do not leave us a necessary Proportion to circulate our *vast Credit*, under the Circumstances of a *declining Trade*. But instead of *Foreigners* having sold great Sums out of our *Stocks*, and taken away the Money; the Truth I believe is, that their Transactions this Way have been rather with a View to *buy in again* with Advantage; and knowing the Secret of Affairs, as well as *some People* at home, they have joined with them in preying on the Needy and the Ignorant; and consequently This has had little or no Influence in turning the *Exchange* to our Prejudice.

Nor will the large *Importation of Corn* the last Year account for it; for an Accident in our Favour fully repaired, if not over-ballanced this Calamity; and That was, a much larger *Exportation of Sugar* than usual, occasioned by the entire Failure of the *Martinico Crop*, by a violent Earthquake, which affected the whole Island; and there was but a very small Crop in the *Braziles*.

The *Gentleman* has thought fit to decline his Comparison of *six Years* and *six Years*, upon the Article of *Coinage*; and has luckily picked out the Year 1726, for coining a greater Quantity of *Gold* than in some Years before, except 1714, 1715, 1716, and 1720; but at the same Time, I believe without intending it, he gives the Reason for it; and This was, the Apprehensions of an immediate War with *Spain*, upon Admiral *Hofier's* Expedition to the *West-Indies*; which made many of our Merchants bring home their Effects as fast as they could from *Spain*. But is it not certain that the *Coinage* has gradually lessened, as I have proved that our *Manufactures* have declined, these few Years past? And if the *Coinage* of the *last Year* would have contradicted it, I doubt not that we should have seen an Account of it.

We

We may add, upon this Head, that as *Moidores* were very plenty in all Payments not long since ; we scarce see any of them now ; which shews, that there has lately been no small *Export of Gold* ; and there being more Profit on *Guineas* than *Moidores*, it is to be feared that some of our *Guineas* are gone along with them ; and common Experience daily convinces us of the Want of *Silver*.

It is estimated, that the yearly Import of *Gold* into *Europe* from the *Braziles* has for some time past been *three Millions* or more ; and as This is not exported into the *East-Indies*, as the *Silver* is, but remains in *Europe* ; if we have not annually a Share of this Increase, we must become *poorer* in respect to our Neighbours, tho' we retain the same Quantity of Specie we had formerly ; but if our Riches decrease on this Head, our Circumstances must be allowed to be much worse, and will be daily more felt.

The Reader will observe that I have taken no Notice of the *daily Bankruptcies*, which we find in all our News-Papers ; though I presume even this Author will not pretend that they are the Effects of *Wealth* or *Prosperity* ; and the World, I believe, will allow they are stronger Proofs of a *declining Condition* than any, which He hath brought to support the contrary Position.

Having now thrown together such Particulars, as occurred to me upon reading this Paper, I shall leave it to others, who have more Leisure, and greater Knowledge in the Affairs of *Trade*, to enlarge upon them ; but I believe these Hints will shew that *this Writer* has produced no one Proof of his Assertion, that we are, at this Time, in a *thriving and flourishing Condition*. I do, with great Pleasure, acknowledge, that many of the Particulars he has mentioned are indisputable Marks that we are yet a great and powerful People ; and I hope we shall ever continue so ; but we cannot expect to secure this Happiness to Posterity,
any

any other way than by our hearty Endeavours to retrieve the Loss and Decay of our *Trade and Manufactures*; to rectify those Mistakes, which have occasioned them; to contract our *publick Expences* to the *annual Sums* we are able to raise *within the Year*; and put a Stop to that fatal and destructive Evil of *new Debts*; and it will in the End be found that *They*, who honestly propose the Service of their Country, in pointing them out to the Publick, will much better deserve their Thanks and Esteem than *Those*, who, for the Support of their Power, and the satisfying their Avarice and Ambition, endeavour to conceal these growing Evils, and deceive us into a false Opinion of our *increasing Wealth*, which must end in certain Ruin.

But, Mr. *D'Anvers*, *this Writer*, and any others, may argue as long as they please upon this Subject. The Determination of the Question must be left to the Judgment of the Publick; and it would be in vain for any Man to endeavour to persuade the People that they are *poor, distressed*, burthened with *Taxes*, decaying in *Trade and Manufactures*, when they really know and feel themselves in *Plenty*, and growing more *rich and happy*. On the other hand, though any Person should, with never so great an Appearance of *Authority* from any *supposed Accounts*, assert and assure, in the strongest Manner, that they are *rich and happy*; will they, when they suffer these Evils, be persuaded to believe it? This would be supposing *implicite Faith* in a much greater Degree than even Lord *Peter* in the *Tale of a Tub* pretended to. *Such Writers* are like the *Physician*, who endeavoured to convince one of his Patients, under a *Complication of Distempers*, that He was in *perfect Health*; and we may give Him the same Answer, which the poor Man did at last to the *Doctor*, upon asking how He did, that *He was* languishing with the *Lord knows how many* good Symptoms.

I am, S I R,

O.

Yours, &c.



N^o 135. SATURDAY, February 1, 1728-9.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

'Squire D'ANVERS,



HOUGH I approve of your Design in general, and the Manner of executing it; yet I cannot help thinking that, in some Particulars, you act a Part not very generous or justifiable. I mean, by converting the Writings of your Contemporaries into *Libels against Men in Power*. I confess, the extraordinary Methods, which have been taken, for explaining your own Works into *defamatory Investives*, may be some Provocation for you to take the same Liberty with others; but as you have frequently complain'd of such violent and disingenuous Constructions, I could wish that you would, upon all Occasions, take Care to avoid them your self. Methinks, I would not have you seem inconsistent in the minutest Circumstance; but leave your Enemies the Glory of acting the Reverse of *Midas*, who turn'd every Thing He touch'd into *Gold*, by converting whatever passes through their Hands into *Sedition and political Scandal*.

Yet give me Leave to observe that you discover'd a remarkable Instance of this ill-natur'd Procedure in your late Explanation of the *BEGGAR's OPERA*; which favours too much of the *long Robe*; and is a Proof, too strong I fear to be deny'd, that you have not yet forgot all the low Craft and Chicanry of *that*
Pro-

Profession. It cannot be denied indeed that some general Strokes of political Satire are scatter'd up and down in that Piece; and perhaps no Performance, that ever yet appear'd on the Stage, is intirely free from them; for *Vice* and *Folly*, of all Kinds, are the principal, essential and constituent Materials of the *Drama*. But I believe I may defy the warmest Enemy of that diverting Opera to prove that the Character of *MACHEATH* in general was either designed by the *Author*, or understood by the *Audience*, in any other Sense than as a just Representation of a notorious Malefactor in *low Life*; till you directed their Views higher, and apply'd his Satire to some Persons in Authority. It is too well known what Effect this forced Interpretation had on the Minds of the Populace, and how universally it became received; which, for aught I know, might answer your Ends; but I am afraid it hath been of real Prejudice, not only to the *Author* and Mr. Rich, but to the whole Town, by depriving us of the second Part of that facetious and popular Entertainment.

Since therefore you, Mr. D'Anvers, have (undesignedly I hope) done so great an Injury to the *Publick*, as well as to the Persons more immediately concerned, by giving this mischievous, political Turn to the first Part of the *Beggar's Opera*; I hope you will be ready to make them all the Reparation in your Power, by exposing those invidious Rumours, which are industriously spread about Town, concerning the Conduct and Design of the *SEQUEL*, which is now suppress'd by Authority.

I have lately had some Conversation, upon this Subject, with a Friend of the *Author*; who obliged me with the following Particulars, relating to that unfortunate, abortive Performance.

The chief Objection against the first Part of this Opera was, that so daring and hardened an Offender, as *Macbeath* is represented to be, should have the Fa-

your

vour to obtain a *Reprieve*. This was thought to give great Encouragement to his *wicked Fraternity*; and the *frequent Robberies*, which infested our Streets last Year, have been all imputed to this Cause. I shall not endeavour to invalidate the many weighty Arguments, which have been offered both from the *Pulpit* and the *Press* to this Purpose; though I find some People are inclined to believe that the severe Satire contained in that Piece, against *one Kind of publick Robbers*, was a more unpardonable Offence, than the Encouragement, which it was supposed to give to *another*. But, methinks this Objection is, besides, somewhat unjust; since the *Author* discovered so strong an Inclination to execute poetical Justice upon that *vile Delinquent*; which He would certainly have done, had not the *Player* dissuaded Him from it, by representing to Him that the Rules of the *Drama* would not allow an *Opera* to conclude with a *tragical Catastrophe*.

However, our *Author* was resolved, in the *Sequel*, to run the Risque of incurring the strongest Resentment of the *Criticks*, rather than lie under the Imputation of promoting *Robbery of any Kind*. He therefore designed that *Macbeath* should be really hanged, for a publick Example; and lest *these Objectors* should not be contented with having it done *behind the Scenes* (according to another Rule of *modern Criticism*) He was to have suffered openly on the Stage, that the whole Audience might have been Witnesses of his Fate, and be convinced that it was no *sham Execution*.

As soon as This was whispered about Town, the *whole Gang* was in the utmost Consternation. They immediately called a Council; laid their wise Heads together; and resolved, if possible at any Rate, to prevent so dangerous a *Precedent*; and procure their *noble Commander* a *second Reprieve*.

In

In order to accomplish this Design, They spread a Report through every Part of the Town that the *Sequel to the Beggar's Opera* was a most insolent and seditious Libel; that the Character of *Macbeath* was drawn for one of the *greatest and most virtuous Men* in the Kingdom; that This was too plain, in the *former Part*; but that, in the *second*, He is *transported*; turns *Pirate*; becomes *Treasurer* in a certain Island abroad; proves *corrupt*; and is sacrific'd to the Resentment of an *injured People*.

Happening to step into a Coffee-house, near St. James's, some Time ago, I found a certain Gentleman, famous for his *Corinthian Face*, who was giving the Company an Account to this Purpose. Nay, He went so far as to assure them that there was *one Scene*, in which *Macbeath* is called to Account by his *Crew*, for having carried them to a distant unwholesome Creek, under Pretence of Seizing a Parcel of *Canoes*, richly laden, of which He had Intelligence; but instead of *seizing* or offering to *attack* them, when He came there, suffering his Ship to lie in their Sight, till it was worm-eaten and almost quite rotten; their Provisions spent; and scarce Hands enough left to get back again. He told us that This was represented, in the Play, as one of the chief Causes of his Ruin; for those few, who survived, finding what Tools He had made of them, and that He had neither *Conduct* nor *Spirit* for such Enterprizes, resolved to shake off his Yoke, and impeach'd Him to the Governor, as soon as They got ashore.

Now, Sir, I am assured by my Friend that his Account is, in almost every Particular, absolutely groundless and malicious. He confesses, indeed, that the *Captain* turns *Pirate* in the *West-Indies*, (to which Place He is supposed to be transported) and is there *hanged* for several enormous Crimes; but denies that He obtains the Office of *Treasurer*, or any other *publick Employment*, excepting the Command of a *Pirate Sloop*;
for

for which He suffers Death ; and surely there can be no great Crime in bringing a notorious Offender to condign Punishment *abroad*, who hath had the good Fortune to escape so long at *home*.

He tells me farther that the *Author* was so cautious of giving Offence, that the Word *Corruption* is not so much as mentioned throughout the whole Play ; nor the Word *Peace* above once or twice, and then in Matters perfectly indifferent ; as for Instance, *bold your Peace* ; which cannot be thought to reflect on the *Peace*, now negotiating at *Soissons* ; though, to avoid all Cavils, He hath since alter'd it to *bold your Tongue*.—He had frequent Occasions to mention the Word *Truce* ; which it seems the *Pirates* often conclude with some *little, petty States* on those Coasts ; but he scrupulously avoided it, lest it might be subject to *bad Interpretations* ; much less would He mention the Term *Provisional Treaty* ; which indeed could not so much as once enter into his Head. The *Author* suppress'd another Passage, with the same Caution ; for upon reading his Play to a certain Gentleman, when he came to that Part, where one of the *Crew* offers, upon some Occasion, to *wager a Gallon*.—He was happily interrupted with this Rebuke ; *bold, Sir ; no Reflections, I beg of you, upon Sir CHARLES WAGER and the GALLEONS*.

I hope no body will imagine I design to insinuate that *this Performance* is unjustly suppressed ; for it is certainly the Duty of *Men in Authority* to take particular Care that *Scandal* and *Sedition* be not broached amongst the People, under the Name of *dramatical Entertainments* ; which may no doubt often be the Case, without any *bad Intention*, or even the *Suspicion* of the *Author* ; for when a Piece is interpreted in this Manner, and a *false Key* is given to the People, it is almost impossible to root it out of their Minds. They will apply *Characters*, as They have been explained to them ; and turn every Stroke of *general*

Satire into personal invective; so that the most *inoffensive Performance* in the World may become a *Libel*, by these Means, as much as if the Scandal were really intended.

For this Reason I could wish that Mr. CIBBER's new Pastoral, call'd *Love in a Riddle*, had met with the same Fate as Mr. Gay's, before it came on the Stage; for whether He designed it or not, there are many Passages in that Piece, which will certainly bear a very *bad Sense*. I will mention only two or three. In one Place, He makes a Man say, *Lord! what strange Stuff are Courtiers Heads made of?* And in another is this remarkable Expression,

In Proof at least that I SUSPEND RESENTMENT,
ONE GIFT I will receive————

But (what is still worse) as Mr. Gay had drawn the Characters of *two roguish Brothers*, Mr. Cibber hath introduc'd a Couple of *foolish ones* on the Stage; who are both outwitted and treated in a very contemptuous Manner by a WOMAN. But we had the Satisfaction to observe that the Audience, who seem'd to apply these Characters, were so far from giving any Encouragement to *Sedition* or *Calumny*, that They expressed an universal Resentment at them; and I am willing to believe that This was the chief, if not the only Reason, of the ill Success of that most *inimitable Performance*.

I hope This will be thought sufficient to justify the late Suppression of the *Sequel to the Beggar's Opera*. It is, I confess, a very great Disappointment to the Town, which hath been so agreeably entertain'd with the *first Part*; but We must always sacrifice our *private Pleasures* to the *publick Good*; and as the *VIL-LAGE OPERA* is written in the same diverting Strain, I hope it will meet with a kind Reception,
when

when it appears on the Stage; as I am told it will do some Time next Week, unless *that Piece* likewise should have the Misfortune to be laid under the *same Interdict*.

N.

*I am, S I R, &c.**HILARIUS.**To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;**S I R,*

THE *Contradictions* and *Inconsistencies* of your Adversaries grow, every Day, more and more remarkable. They are meer *Didappers* in Politicks, who rise and disappear in different Places, upon the first Flash of the Pan. But I have not Leisure at present (and perhaps you may not have Room) for any farther Preface to what I am now going to observe upon the *British Journal* of Saturday January the 18th, with Relation to the Affair of Gibraltar and the Defeat of the *Spanish Fleet*, which *some Persons* are so desirous to make the Foundation of all our *present Disturbances*.

Having observed, in private Conversation, that many Gentlemen, both in Town and Country, were mistaken in their Judgment concerning the *present Pretensions* of the *Spaniards* to Gibraltar, (which arose from the Industry of a *certain Faction* to confound the *Promise* of the late Lord STANHOPE with the *Letter* of the late King in the Year 1721) I thought it incumbent upon me, out of my sincere Regard for the Memory of that *noble Peer*, to set that Affair in a true Light; and I have the Satisfaction to reflect that I was the first Man, who publicly distinguish'd between *these two Promises*, and took Notice that

(notwithstanding what Mr. Manley hath asserted) the Lord Stanhope's Promise was only *verbal*, in View of a general Pacification, and on Conditions of Trade, highly beneficial to this Kingdom.

I shall make no other Observation on this Affair of Gibraltar, than that *this Writer* is, at length, forced to acknowledge that a LETTER was writ by our late gracious Sovereign, wherein He promis'd the *Restitution of that Place*; in Contradiction to the solemn Assertion of his PATRON, that *this Letter* was ministerially drawn up, and did not contain any such Promise.

The next great Point, to which the *present Disturbances* are now said to be owing, is the *Defeat of the Spanish Fleet in the Mediterranean*; which, *this Writer* tells us, was a *Proceeding that could not be justified*. I need not observe in what Light this Action was placed, during the Life of his late Majesty; for every Body remembers that it was then stiled a most politick Proceeding; that it is always the Interest of Great Britain to destroy any naval Power, which becomes formidable, under any Pretence whatsoever; and it is well known that the noble Person, who performed this Service, was soon after rewarded with great Honours, as well as Employments, and hath at this Time the Direction of the *British Navy*.

Mr. Manley imputed this *unjustifiable Action* (as He calls it) to the late Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope; in the same Manner, as the *present Difficulties* about Gibraltar were also laid to their Charge; but, upon due Enquiry, He hath been informed, it seems, that This was a groundless Asperson, injurious to the Memory of those two noble Peers; and that *this Fleet* was not destroyed by the Counsell of any British Minister, or of any Person living; for in fact there were some Men at that Time living, who, though They were not of this Nation, yet had Influence equal to Designs, which no Englishman would undertake.

To what great Extremities must a *Writer* be driven, when He resorts to so bold and desperate an Expedient? He hath, it is true, done Justice to the Memory of those *two noble Earls*; but He hath done it by the grossest Imputations on the Character of a *noble Person*, still living, and (what is worse) on the Memory of his late excellent Majesty. What Authority He might have for this Assertion, I can't say; (though his *Patron* was not *hunting*, at that Time, in *Norfolk*) but if it be true *that the Spanish Fleet was not destroyed by the Counsels of any British Minister, or any Man now living*, He could not be ignorant that the Squadron, which destroyed it, was commanded by a *British Admiral*; who cannot be supposed to have entered upon an Action, of such Importance, without proper Orders; which, if I am rightly informed, ought always to be *signed as well as advised* by some *British Minister*.——But as that *great Officer* is still living, and is best able to set this Affair in a true Light, I shall say no more of it, as far as it relates to *Him*.

But Mr. *Manley* must give me Leave to ask what Motives could possibly induce Him to fix so heavy a Charge on the Memory of our late gracious Sovereign, by asserting that some Persons, who were not *English Ministers*, who were not *Englishmen*, had such a *prevailing Influence* over his Counsels, as to engage the *British Navy* in an Action, which is said to have laid the Foundation of all our present Disturbances; and This without the Concurrence, nay against the Advice and Endeavours of the whole *British Administration*; which, it seems, *wanted Power, when they laboured to prevent it*? For, to what Purpose was that wise Provision made, by the *Act of Settlement*, that no *Foreigner* should be capable of the most inconsiderable Post in the *Administration*, if it is or can be evaded in this Manner? As the great Design of that Clause was to prevent *Foreigners* from having any Sway or Influence over the *British Counsels*; so if Persons,

who are *not in the Administration*, have such an *Ascendant* as to controul *Those*, who are *in the Administration*, the good Effect of this Provision is totally destroyed.

I hope, therefore, that Mr. *Manley*, instead of charging *others* with reflecting on the Memory of his late Majesty, will think Himself obliged to purge it from these *gross Aspersions*, with which he hath presumed to blacken it, in order to serve a little present Turn. I am sure, at least, his Patrons would have been much better pleased if he had suffered that Affair, like the *Spanish Claim of Gibraltar*, to rest *sub silentio*, rather than attempted to justify Them, at the Expence of their *dead Master*, whose royal Bounty and Goodness raised them to their present Height of Riches and Power from Circumstances of the *lowest Distress*.

I am, S I R, &c.

W. RALEIGH.

P. S. I have just read a Piece, intituled, *A Defence of the Enquiry*, &c. which opens another ample Field of *Contradictions*, *Inconsistencies* and *false Reasoning*; but as That more immediately concerns your excellent Correspondent, who subscribes Himself *JOHN TROT*, I shall not say any Thing upon it, hoping He will soon do Himself Justice.

Yours, &c.



SATURDAY,

N^o 136. SATURDAY, February 8, 1728-9.

IN a former Paper, I exhibited to my Readers some of the *Marks* of a *wicked Minister*; and as nothing can be more agreeable to any Nation, which hath been long harrassed and oppressed with *such a Monster*, than the least Prospect of Deliverance, I propose, in This, to point out some of the *Symptoms* of a *declining Minister*.

Though I calculate these Papers, as far as I am able, for the general Use and Instruction of all People, who have any Regard for Liberty; yet I would be always thought to have the Benefit of my own Country chiefly at Heart; which, as *happy* as it is set forth at present, has been formerly pestered with *rapacious* and *corrupt Ministers* as much as any Nation under the Sun, and may be subject to the same Calamity in Times to come.

Let me add a Word or two more by way of Preface.—As *Disimulation* and *Hypocrisy* are of greater Use in Politicks than in any other Profession, and are become almost necessary Qualifications in a *modern Statesman*, we should not give any Credit to *first Appearances*. A placid Countenance, menacing Speeches, bold Defiances, and an insolent Behaviour, are no certain Signs that a *Minister* stands on a solid Foundation; but are often put on, to conceal his own dreadful Apprehensions from the World; and keep up the Spirits of *Those*, who are, at the same Time, both his *Dependants* and his *Supporters*.

We must therefore carry our Observations farther than to these *fallacious Tokens*, which every Man hath

it in his own Power to give, if we are desirous to form any certain Judgment or rational Conjecture, when a *Minister* is in a *declining Condition*. The *true Marks* of This are almost infinitely various, according to the different Circumstances of particular Nations ; but I shall confine myself to those few *general Ones*, which, upon Observation, I have seldom known to fail.

1. When the Spirit of *Division* is, in a great Measure, extinguished ; and Men of *all Parties* begin to consider Things as They really are, without Regard to *Names* or *Distinctions* ; especially when a *Minister* is deserted and abhorred by almost every Man of *that Party*, by whose Prevalence He was first established in Power ; excepting only a small Cabal of his own *Creatures* and *Dependants*.

2. When He hath manifestly discovered both his Rashness and Ignorance in *foreign Negotiations*, by *unnatural Alliances* and *ruinous Expeditions* ; from whence it appears evident to all Mankind that He is so far from having any Notion of the several Interests of the Princes of *Europe*, that He is an utter Stranger to the *Map*, and does not know that *Mexico* and *Peru* are different Kingdoms.

3. When he hath been convicted of the same Insufficiency in *domestick Affairs* ; excepting those *new discovered Secrets of Administration*, which tend to the Destruction of his Country, and deserve the most exemplary Punishment.

4. When He hath negotiated his *Prince* into such Difficulties, that he cannot obtain a *safe* and *honourable Peace*, nor enter into a *War* with any tolerable Ease to his *People*, or any certain Dependance on his *Allies*.

5. When most of the *Princes* and *chief Ministers* in *Europe* are exasperated against Him ; and seem to have entered into a Confederacy not to treat with his *Master* on any Terms, whilst He keeps a *Minister* in his Service, who is so disagreeable to Them ; which may not always proceed, as it hath been pretended,
from

from the Fidelity, Vigour and Ability of the *Minister* in his Office ; but often from a just Resentment of his *personal ill Treatment, Indignities and Misrepresentations*, in order to serve his own, little, selfish Designs ; which can never be of any Service to the *Prince* or the *People*, and is highly unbecoming either a *wise* or an *honest Minister*.—History will supply us with many Instances of *Princes*, who have been embarrassed in their Negotiations by personal Resentments against their *Ministers on this Account only*, and have found their Affairs go on very easily, when *these Obstacles* have been removed out of the Way.

6. When He is forced to have Recourse to *daily Expedients* ; to Sophistry, Prevarication and downright Falshood. When He flies from Stratagem to Stratagem ; is driven out of one poor Subterfuge into another ; and is obliged, for present Support, to give up and deny, *one Day*, what He had strongly asserted and justified the *Day before*.

7. When the *Nobles* are known to be secretly disgusted, on account of his Incroachment on their *Privileges* ; and the *Commons* are restrained only by *temporary Expedients*. When the Mouths of the *Merchants, Tradesmen, and Manufacturers*, in general, are opened against Him. When the *landed Gentlemen* think Themselves oppressed with *burthensome Taxes*, without any just Reason and to no manner of Purpose. When those particular Promotions in the *Church* (which are known to proceed from his Influence and Recommendation) give the same Uneasiness to the *Clergy*. When the Officers of the *Navy* openly profess their Dissatisfaction ; and even the Commanders of the *Land Forces* are not without their Murmurs and Complaints. —In short, when the *Voice of the People* runs so universally against Him, that even his *own Creatures*, who find it their Interest to co-operate with Him in *publick*, are ashamed to espouse his Cause in *Clubs, Coffee-houses, and other private Assemblies*, where free
Con-

Conversation and fair Argument are allowed to prevail.

8. When his Measures are grown so justly odious, that scarce any Writers of *Credit* or *Abilities* will engage in his Cause; and when *Those*, who do, lose all their *former Reputation*, and constantly fail of *Success*.

9. When he appears to be in such extream Distress on this Account, as to capitulate with some Men for *Silence*; and to give great Encouragement to others, who will openly enlist in his Service; contrary to his natural Antipathy to all Men, who have the least Pretence to *Wit* or *Literature*.

10. When even those few, who are so hardy as to oppose the *general Sense of the Nation*, by appearing Advocates for *such a Minister*, do not presume to justify the *State of Affairs* in general, but have Recourse to *Apologies*, and impute the bad Consequences of his Counsels to *unlucky Accidents*; tho' every Man of common Sense foresaw and foretold them at first, except *Himself* and his *Creatures*. When they charge all his Miscarriages *abroad* to the Malignancy and Prevalence of his Enemies *at home*; and are not ashamed to suggest that the *first Crowns of Europe* pay a greater Regard to *common Journalists* and *News-writers*, than to all their *Patron's* vigorous Remonstrances and Negotiations. When they argue for *political, implicit Faith*, and meer Submission to *Authority*, in these Disputes. When they plead the Cause of *military Government*; and recommend the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, and other *arbitrary Courts*; and have the Confidence to represent *Bribery* and *Corruption* as necessary Expedients of Government.

11. When present Views have induced him to renounce all his *former Principles*; and pushed him upon Measures, which he represented as *highly criminal*, and Matter of *Impeachment* against *former Ministers*.

11. When

12. When he hath exerted all his Endeavours, by different Methods, to suppress the *Freedom of Speech* and *Writing*, (tho' nobody ever exercised it with greater Latitude than Himself) and is at last obliged to disown any such *Design*, when he finds it either *impracticable*, or too *unpopular*, and some of his *chief Advocates* have protested against it.

13. When he takes visible, though indirect Steps towards procuring an *Act of Indemnity* for Himself; which is a Proof that he does not care to depend intirely on his *Innocence*, notwithstanding all his *blustering Defiances*.

14. When there is an uncommon Demand and Avidity in the People for every Thing that appears against *such a Minister*; for tho' Men of *Wit* and *Sense* may endeavour to ridicule or expose *Persons* and *Things* without any just Reason; yet the *Infamy* or *Contempt* will not stick long, where they are not *deserved*; and it is the greatest Insult on the Understandings of the People in general, to suppose they will suffer themselves to be led, like brute Herds, into a wild Resentment against any Man whatsoever, without seeing or feeling some just Reason for it.

15. When He is Himself so sensible of This, and so very sore (however he may attempt to disguise it) that not only *those Pieces*, which are professedly written against his Measures, but every little Stroke of *general Satire*, which appears in a *new Book*, a *Pamphlet*, or a *P L A Y*, galls Him to the Quick, in such a Manner, that He will stick at no Measures or Forms to suppress it.

16. And lastly; when after all other Expedients have been found ineffectual to retrieve his *lost Credit*, and support Him in his *evil Measures*, He seeks Shelter under the *Throne*; and endeavours to stop the Mouths of his Adversaries, by blending his own Cause with the Cause of his *Royal Master*. An *honest Minister* hath no Occasion for such a mean Shift; and it is a Shift, which

which a *wise wicked Minister* would never make Use of, but as his *last Resort*; especially if, when out of Power, He had publickly condemned *such Artifices*, and taken Pains to distinguish between the *Prince* and his *Servants*. The Necessity of this Distinction hath been often explained and asserted. The *Liberty of the People* and the *Honour of the Prince* both depend upon it; as the Establishment of the contrary Doctrine must effectually silence all Opposition to the *worst of Ministers*, and transfer the Guilt of *their Measures* to the *Prince Himself*. Whenever therefore we see any such Attempt, we ought to look upon it as the last Struggle of an *expiring Minister*.

I have only to add, that *these Marks* are very strong, if not infallible *Prognosticks*; for it is almost impossible that a *Minister*, who hath all or most of these *Symptoms* upon Him, can subsist long in Power. His Fall may not be *immediate*; but I think it must be *certain*. Nor ought any People, who shall happen to be agrieved with *such a Minister*, to be discouraged by *some outward Marks* in his Favour; for there are various Circumstances in Government, which may render it prudent, or even necessary in *Princes* to defer the Disgrace of *such a Minister* for a Time. *Sejanus* in *Rome*, the Duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*, and Cardinal *Wolfey* in *England* are Instances of This. They were all in as high Degree of *seeming Favour* with their respective Princes, as any *Ministers* can boast of, since that Time; and yet They all fell. They fell on a sudden. The Case of *Wolfey*, in particular, is directly apposite to my present Purpose; and I confess that I drew some of my *principal Marks* from the Condition of *that Minister*. He continued several Years in Power, under the *general Hatred of the People*; and sunk at once into the *lowest Disgrace*, at a Time when he appeared in the *biggest Lustre*. It may not therefore be improper to conclude this Paper with a *few Verses*, which I lately found amongst some old *State-Manu-*

Manuscripts ; and were written, as I suppose, against *this Minister* ; because I do not remember any other, great, wicked, *English Minister*, whose Name began with the same Letter.

D.

A Panegyrick on Cardinal W——

HAIL! Minister, by *Paradoxes* great !
 Proceeds it from thy Genius or thy Fate ?
 Courtier compleat, with Manners unpolite ;
 Without thy Prince's Love, a Favourite ;
 Not eloquent, though voluble of Tongue,
 And thy first Honours from Corruption sprung ;
 From Ruin and Distress advanc'd to Power,
 From Gaol to Court, the Creature of an Hour ;
 Hated by Each, and yet upheld by All ;
 Hooted in Streets, applauded in the Hall ;
 By giving, rich ; still able to supply
 Fresh Credit for each want and every Lye ;
French Treaties, padlock'd Swords and tame Campaigns,
 (Thy Measures now) were Crimes in former Reigns ;
 What then was constru'd Treason by our Laws,
 Is now thy Glory, and demands Applause ;
 If thou art easy, who dares feel his Pain ?
 'Tis bold to sigh ; Rebellion to complain ——— }
 Ev'n publick Debts transform Themselves to Gain. }
 The *Change*, that seem'd to force Thee from the Stage,
 To sue for Shelter from the People's Rage,
 Pye-ball'd with Dirt and Glory, brought Thee on,
 And turn'd thy *Sanctuary* to a *Throne*.
 Say, mighty W——, are we to adore
 Thy Stars, or Genius, never match'd before ?

C.



N^o 137. SATURDAY, Feb. 15, 1728-9.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



T the Conclusion of my *first Letter*, I promised to send you some Observations on the *Conduct of the British Court in the Reign of King James I.* But the Disputes, which *that Letter* hath occasioned, have hitherto prevented me; and I think it cannot be improper to premise a few short Remarks on the Reign of his great Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*; from which it will be easy to collect the Reasons why the latter makes so glorious, and the former so mean a Figure in the *English History*.

This *excellent Princess*, upon her Accession to the Throne, had Difficulties to struggle with, which were thought almost insuperable, and would have been really so to a Person of less Discernment and Address.

The great Commotions, and different Parties, which had been raised in the Kingdom by the Revolutions in *Religion*, during the *three last preceding Reigns*, (not to mention the short *Inter-regnum* of the Lady *Jane Gray*) made it dangerous for Her to declare Herself openly at first on either Side. The *Romish Party* had received great Strength and Encouragement by the terrible Persecutions of the Reform'd, in the *last Reign*, at home, as well as by the Promises of Assistance from abroad. She had also the Misfortune of seeing her *Birth*, and consequently her Title, condemn'd, not only

only by the *Pope*, and all the *Catholick Powers* of *Europe*, but by *Luther* himself, the Founder of that Religion, which she design'd to establish. On the other Hand the *Reformed* (who were her only *true Friends*, and had shewn that no Cruelties should oblige them to renounce their *Principles*) were not to be disregarded and thrown into Despair. She therefore took the only wise Method that could possibly be taken in such Circumstances; which was by giving Hopes to the *Protestants*, without suffering their Importunities and Persuasions to lead her into Extremities against the *Papists*. She retained the *Romish Ceremonies* at her *Coronation*; ordered the *Common-Prayer Book* (which was not at that Time thoroughly reformed) to be publicly read; and restrained the numerous *Sectaries*, which began to swarm over *Europe*, under severe Penalties. She sent Ambassadors to the *Pope*, and Ministers to the famous *Council of Trent*, which was sitting at that Time. She successively deluded the Kings of *Spain* and *France* with Hopes of Marriage; and discover'd the utmost Wisdom in every Part of her Management, 'till her Birth was cleared from the Aspersions, which had been cast upon it; her Title recognized in Parliament; and other necessary Provisions were made for the Security of her Government.

She then began to display Herself in the great Scenes of political Affairs; in which her Judgment and Resolution were equally distinguished. *Spain* was, at that Time, aspiring to universal Monarchy, under the Government of *Philip the second*, which engaged all the Princes of *Europe* to oppose his Designs; and though she lay under particular Obligations to *that Prince*, for protecting her against the Fury of her Sister Queen *Mary*, to whom He was married; yet preferring a just Regard for the Liberties of *Europe* to any Motives of private Gratitude, in which she was not deficient upon other Occasions, she entered

boldly into Measures against Him ; and having once engaged, pursued them with *Vigour* ; well knowing that *bold Looks, haughty Words, and threatening Appearances* only, without *Action*, could have but little Effect on an ambitious and provoked Enemy. She seized his Effects, and applied them to the Service of her Government. She granted *Letters of Reprizal* to her injured Merchants ; destroyed his *invincible Armada*, without making any *Reparation* for it afterwards ; and by those Means gave such a terrible Blow to the naval Power of *Spain*, as they have not been able to recover to this Day.

Nay, it might, I believe, be proved (to the Honour of this immortal Princess, and her whole Sex) that she was the first *English Monarch*, who perfectly understood that great Secret of *holding the Ballance of Europe*, and put it the most effectually in Execution ; for it is very well observed by Mr. Osborne, in his *Memoirs of this Reign*, that *she delighted more, from her first Assumption to Power, in raising Broils, and making Herself an Arbitrator of other's Differences, than in any Quarrel contracted of Her own ; by which she did not only keep Herself in Plight at home, by sparing Money (harder parted with by the English than Blood) but gained so much Reputation abroad, as no publick or private Endeavours of his Holiness could stop other Nations from confirming or making new or straighter Leagues with England, than formerly They had done.*

She assisted the Protestants in *France* and the *Netherlands* ; and undertook the Protection of *Holland* against the King of *Spain* ; but demonstrated both her Wisdom and Regard for her Subjects in taking *cautionary Towns*, for Repayment of the Charges, which *England* should be at in those generous Services. It seems, she did not think Herself obliged to relieve other States, however distressed, by impoverishing her own ;

or

or that the People of this Kingdom ought to be meer Knight-Errants, and fight every Body's Battles at their own Expence.

Her OEconomy and frugal Management of the publick Treasure appear in Multitudes of Instances thro' the Course of her whole Reign. She was always very tender of asking any Aids of her People, and never did it but in Cases of real Necessity. She scorned any Endeavours to squeeze Money out of them, like some of her Predecessors, under the Pretence of publick Dangers or Exigencies of State, in order to fill her private Coffers, or enrich voracious Favourites. On the contrary, she voluntarily returned a large Subsidy, which had been granted to her by Parliament, when the Occasion, for which it was granted, ceased; telling them, that *she should always esteem the Money in her People's Purses to be as good as in her own Coffers*; an Instance, which I believe cannot be parallell'd in the *English* History; and was so convincing a Proof of her looking upon her own Interest, and the Interest of her People to be the same, that she always found her Parliaments ready to comply with any Proposals or Requests.

Yet amidst all this parsimonious OEconomy of the publick Treasure, she maintained the utmost Grandeur, Munificence and Hospitality in her royal Household; so that Majesty and Thrift (as Mr. Osborne observes) *did strive for Præ-eminence, all Her Reign, without encroaching upon any Confine either of Baseness or Prodigality.* She kept Abundance of Tables supply'd in a very splendid Manner; to which all Strangers, upon the least Acquaintance, were invited; and by this Generosity (says my Author) *the ordinary Sort of People were so endeared, that He hath known some of them brag of their Entertainments at Court twenty Years after.*

It was impossible that a Princess, possessed of such excellent Qualifications and royal Virtues, should not reign in the Affections of her People; and though she did, upon some Occasions, extend the *Prerogative* beyond its just Bounds; yet as she always consulted the Good of her Subjects in general, and never made Use of her Power to deprive them either of *Liberty* or *Property*, it raised no Jealousies at that Time, and hath occasioned no Reflections on her Memory since. But This is not a *Precedent* to be recommended, because it will be rarely followed with the same Prudence, or Regard to the publick Good. This Queen always made it one of her principal Endeavours to employ Men of great *Abilities* in her Service; and as she was a Lady of singular Penetration herself, she was seldom mistaken in her Choice. She did not think that *dull Drudges*, and *political Pack-horses*, who understand nothing but Forms, Rules, and Precedents, the meer Outside of Business, were the most proper Persons for *Ministers of State*; but filled all the great Offices of the Kingdom with Men of the most *distinguished Capacities* in their respective Professions; with Men, who were not only acquainted with the mechanick Part of their Duty, but were able to give her Advice in the most intricate Scenes, or on the nicest Conjectures, and to execute her Commands in the most difficult Enterprizes. I need not particularize the great Genius's and worthy Patriots, who shone in her Cabinet, and her Treasury; in the Court, the Camp, and the Navy; as well as in the Church and on the Benches of Justice. Their Names have been delivered down to us by Tradition as well as History. They have been constantly recommended as Patterns of Imitation, though but seldom with any Effect; and Comparisons to Them are, to this Day, the standing Topicks of Flattery and Panegyrick on all Men in Power.

The

The Queen was not only *served well*, by this Preferment of great and able Men; but another good Effect resulted from it; as it restrained, in a great Measure, the Envy of Competitors. The most ambitious Spirits had no Room to complain of *Blunders in Office*; nor could they think it any Indignity or Hardship on Themselves, to be kept out of Power by Men, whose Capacities were universally acknowledged.

As she was a Princess of uncommon Learning herself, so she was a great Encourager of learned Men and the liberal Arts. She did not think those Persons only deserving of her Favour, who had made political Affairs their Study, or were able to supply the Necessities of her Government; but knew very well that Philology and the *Belles Lettres* were not only the Ornament, but the Support of a *free* and a *Protestant* Nation. She likewise judged very wisely, that nothing would so effectually secure the Love of her People, as lending an open Ear to their *Complaints*, and redressing their *Grievances*, upon the first Application; as well as by punishing, with the utmost Severity, Those of her Servants, who betrayed their Trust, or oppressed the People. Of This there is a Multitude of Instances in her Reign. I will mention only two. She ordered a *Parveyor*, who had abused the County of *Kent*, to be hanged, according to a Statute made to that Purpose, upon the single Remonstrance of a poor Countryman; and great Complaints being made, in the *House of Commons*, against the Oppressions of certain *Engrossers*; whom she had unwarily authorized by her *Letters Patent*, she immediately declared them null by Proclamation, and left the Oppressors to be prosecuted by Law; assuring her Parliament, in a most excellent Speech, *that she had been betrayed into an Error, and would sooner lose her Hand or Heart, than ever consent to allow such Privileges to Engrossers, (whom she called Harpies and Horse-Leeches) as may turn to the Detriment of her People*; concluding with this

this just and wise Observation; *that the Servants of Princes have, too often, an Eye to their own Advantage; that their Faults are often concealed from their Notice; and that They cannot, if they would, inspect all Things, when the Weight and Business of the whole Kingdom lies on their Shoulders.*

Though she had her *Favourites*, as well as other Princes, and to a very great Degree; yet (excepting perhaps the Case of *Leicester*) she never suffered them to pillage their Country, and engross Her in such a Manner, as some *Favourites* of her Predecessors and Successors have done; for it is a just Observation of the Author already mentioned, *that nothing commends the Goodness of Queen ELIZABETH's Reign more, than that she and her Subjects should have one and the same Minion, as happened in ESSEX; which might proceed from this Reason, that the People were not at the Cost to raise Him; it being the Custom of this thrifty Princess, to let her Favourites taste, not surfeit on the Wealth of the Nation.*

She was always an Enemy to *arbitrary Prosecutions*, and abhor'd any Design of straining the Law to Court Purposes; of which the following Story is a remarkable Instance.

Upon Sir *Edward Coke's* entering into her Presence, the Lord *Burleigh*, who stood by, said; *Madam, here comes your Attorney-General; qui pro Domina Regina sequitur*; No, said the Queen; I will have it otherwise; for it should be, *qui pro Domina veritate sequitur*; an Observation suitable to the Character of so excellent a Princess, and highly deserving the Notice of every *Attorney-General*!

But what was, perhaps, the most politick Part of her whole Conduct, and contributed more than any Thing else to the Success and Glory of her Reign, was giving Encouragement to *Factions at home*, as she endeavour'd to foment *Divisions abroad*. It is observable that she had always a *mixt Council* and a *mixt Administration*,

ministration, composed of different Parties; between whom she maintained a seeming Indifference; and hearing what all Sides had to say, upon every great Occasion, she was better able to form her own Judgment, and take her Resolutions. Another good Effect, which resulted from this Conduct, was that it kept a proper Check upon her *Ministers*; who were continually jealous of one another, and deterred from taking some Steps, which They might have been tempted to take, had They found themselves *absolute* in the *royal Favour*, and that all their *Enemies* or *Competitors* were discountenanced. It did likewise, in a great Measure, puzzle the *Spies* of *foreign Princes*; who, by this affected Inconstancy of the Queen, were at a Loss to guess, with any Certainty, what Counsels she would take till she had put them in Execution.

The Wisdom of these Measures is confirmed by the Experience of this Reign. Whilst she played *Cecil* against *Leicester*, and *Essex* against *Cecil*, every Thing went on prosperously, and she turn'd the Ballance between them, as she pleased; but when *Leicester* was dead, and she suffered *Essex* to be beheaded, there was no Body left great enough to make a Stand against the *Cecil* Party, who now grew absolute, and the Glory of her Reign continued to decline with her Years.

My Observations on the Reign of King *James I.* shall follow in a short Time.

A.

I am, Sir, &c.

W. RALEIGH.

P O S T

P O S T S C R I P T.

S I R,

I Have just read the *British Journal* of Saturday last, (in answer to mine of the Week before) in which the Author is reduced to such very low Distress, that it may be thought insulting over a vanquished and groveling Enemy, if I should take any farther Notice of Him; especially since He pleads so movingly for Favour, and complains of being *press'd too hard in the Argument*; yet his Conduct, as usual, is very inconsistent upon this Occasion. He begs for Mercy; and, at the same Time, is very insolent. He owns his Want of Prudence; and yet justifies what He hath thus imprudently written, by Arguments equally imprudent.

He says, very truly, that the *sacred Name of his late Majesty* ought not to be mentioned upon this Occasion; though He first drew it into Debate, loaded with the heavy Imputation of having authorized an Action, which He calls *unjustifiable*; and hath since endeavoured to confirm this Imputation by Arguments at large, in order to account for *present Difficulties* and justify the Conduct of his *Patrons*.

He tells us, that the *Act of Settlement* does not restrain the Crown from employing or advising with *Foreigners* in this Case; that several Ministers have acted for *Great Britain*, at several Courts, who were *Foreigners*; and that we have also *Lieutenant-Generals* now in our Armies, who were never *naturalized*.

This is, at once, both evasive and very imprudent, if not directly false; for though the Crown may not be restrained, by the *Act of Settlement*, from advising with or employing *Foreigners* in some Cases; yet I am sure it is restrained from authorizing Them to *give Orders of this Nature*; nor can the Execution of *such Orders* be justified, unless They are signed by some *British Minister*. His next Assertions, *that we have had several*

veral Ministers abroad, who were Foreigners, and have now Lieutenant-Generals in our Armies (I suppose He means in our *British Armies*) who were never naturalized, are likewise very imprudent, whether true or false. I hope indeed They are false; because I think that many of our own brave Countrymen, of equal Abilities, might be as safely trusted in such important Posts as *Foreigners*, and have a much better Right to Them.

I could press *this Argument* very home upon my Adversary, and draw several inflaming Consequences from his Assertions.——But I am inclined to spare Him, as little as He deserves it from me; and to commiserate his Case in being engaged in a Cause, which reduces Him to such Shifts and desperate Extremities. I must, however, expect from Him, that He will not, for the future, take the Liberty to charge any Writer with reflecting on the Memory of his *late Majesty*, when He hath been guilty of doing it Himself in so gross a Manner, and in so tender a Point; a Point, which strikes at the very Foundation of the *Protestant Establishment*. I hope likewise that He will have the Modesty not to discover any more *Puerilities* in my Writings, whilst He continues to write and reason in so childish a manner Himself.

A.

I am, S I R, &c.

W. RALEIGH.



SATURDAY,



N° 138. SATURDAY, February 22, 1728-9.

One of my Correspondents hath lately favoured me with a curious little Piece; intitled, a Memorial presented to Queen ELIZABETH, against her Majesty's being engrossed by any particular FAVOURITE; said to be written by William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, then Lord High Treasurer of ENGLAND, and reprinted in the Year 1714. As this Piece came from so great an Hand, and seems to have had no small Effect on the Mind of that wise Princess; it cannot be thought an improper Sequel to the Remarks of Raleigh, published in our last, on that glorious Reign.

May it please your Majesty,

“  FULL of Assurance, that my unfeigned Zeal for Your Majesty's Interest and Service will be evident in what I humbly presume to remonstrate to your Majesty, I shall venture to speak my Mind with a Freedom, worthy the noble End and Aim of my Design.

“ When any Man, who is as ambitious as myself of engaging your Majesty's good Opinion of my Actions, and your Favour on my Endeavours, shall attempt to plead against any Particulars engrossing your royal Ear, he cannot well be suspected of directing his Discourse and Sollicitations, on that Head, to any private Interest and Advantage; since, by advancing the contrary Position, he might hope perhaps, in Time, and in his Turn, by the Force of Industry and Application, to enjoy the Benefit of it.

“ Secure,

“ Secure, therefore, in my Zeal for the Welfare of
 “ my Prince and my Country, I shall venture to ap-
 “ peal to your Majesty’s Knowledge of History, whe-
 “ ther it afford any one Instance of that Nature,
 “ which has not been, or was very likely to be, of
 “ fatal Consequence to the *Prince*, or the *People*, or
 “ *both*. I will not insist on *Sejanus*, or any other
 “ of the *Roman Minions*, to whose Ambition or Ava-
 “ rice when the Nobility had fallen in Numbers,
 “ and the People felt the Rage of their exorbitant
 “ Passions, unsatisfy’d with what they possess’d, they
 “ have aim’d at the *Life* and *Throne* of the Prince
 “ that rais’d them. The Reason of which is plain ;
 “ because having only *Themselves, and their own pri-
 “ vate Advantage* in view, they make use of the
 “ *Prince* only, as the Means of *their own Grandeur*,
 “ without any Regard to his *real Service*, or the pub-
 “ *lick Good* ; against which it is impossible to do the
 “ *Prince* any.

“ A King, by his royal Office, is the *Father* of
 “ his Country ; whose Eye ought to watch over
 “ the Good of all and every one of his Subjects,
 “ in the *just Execution of the Laws*, and the im-
 “ *partial Dispensation of Prerogative* ; in redressing
 “ *Grievances*, rewarding *Virtue*, punishing *Vice*,
 “ encouraging *Industry*, and the like. But *Princes*,
 “ though the Vicegerents of Heaven, being not en-
 “ dued with *Omniscience*, can only know these *Grie-
 “ vances, Virtues, Vices, Industry, &c.* of the *People*,
 “ and their several Exigencies by the Eyes and
 “ Information of *others* ; nor can This be done
 “ by trusting to any *one particular Favourite* ; who
 “ having no more, nor larger Qualifications, than his
 “ *Prince*, can have no other means of informing him
 “ aright, than what his *Prince* has without him.
 “ Nay, it may very well be said, that he has not any
 “ means so sure and infallible ; for the Prince, if he
 “ consult his *great Councils*, and only adhere to their
 “ *publick*

VOL. IV. N

“ *publick Decisions*, cannot miss of knowing all, that
 “ is necessary to be known for his *own Glory*,
 “ and his *People’s Good*, which are *inseparable*; but
 “ the *Favourite*, having private Designs to carry
 “ on, receives his Information from *Those*, who
 “ must represent Things to him, as he would have
 “ them, by those means to make their Court, and se-
 “ cure that Success to their Wishes, for which they
 “ daily pay the Adoration of so much *Flattery*. But
 “ if, by the wonderful Perspicuity and Application
 “ of the *Favourite*, he should attain a true Know-
 “ ledge of the State of Things; of the Inclinations,
 “ and Desires of the People; it is forty to one,
 “ that clashing with his *private Aims*, he gives them
 “ another Face to the *Prince*, a Turn more agreeable
 “ to his *separate Interest*, though equally destructive of
 “ his *Master’s* and his *Country’s Good*.

“ The only way therefore for a *Prince* to govern,
 “ with Satisfaction to his own Conscience, is to be the
 “ *common Father* of all his *Country*; to bear the Ad-
 “ vice of all his *Counsellors*, and have an open Ear to
 “ all the *Grievances* and *Necessities* of all his *People*.
 “ Which can never be done, while any *one Man* has
 “ the luck to possess the *royal Favour* so far as to
 “ make his Advice an over-balance to the *whole Na-*
 “ *tion*. He gains by those means a Power, which He
 “ extreamly seldom, if ever, uses for the *People’s* or
 “ *Prince’s Advantage*; but most commonly, if not
 “ always, to the Destruction of *both*. There are
 “ Examples enough of This to alarm any *wise* and *poli-*
 “ *tick Prince*. The *Mayors* of the *Palace* in *France*
 “ at last possess’d the *Throne*. And *domestick Instances*
 “ might be given of *Those*, who by their excessive
 “ Power have, if not themselves possess’d, yet de-
 “ pri’d and set whom they pleased on the *Throne*.

“ But omitting what your Majesty knows
 “ extreamly well, I shall only give you a View
 “ of a great *Favourite* in the Reign of your *Royal*
 “ *Father*;

“ *Father* ; a true Prospect of whose Practices
 “ and Ambition may warn your Majesty against
 “ *all Those*, who would engross not only your Ma-
 “ jesty’s Ear, but *all the Gifts and Places* your Ma-
 “ jesty can bestow ; so to be, if not in Name, yet in
 “ *Effect* Kings of your People. I mean Cardinal
 “ *Wolsey* ; whose Fame has been pretended to be vin-
 “ dicated by a Domestick of his, in the Days of the
 “ late Queen. And though I shall not deny his ad-
 “ mirable Qualifications and Parts ; or his Justice in
 “ many Particulars ; yet I shall shew, that the *Ills*
 “ he did were much more prejudicial to the King and
 “ People, than the Good he did was beneficial to them.

“ Whatever he did, as *Chancellor*, allowing his
 “ Decrees all equitable and just, will not be sufficient
 “ to destroy my Assertion ; since That only reached
 “ *some Particulars*, who had Causes depending be-
 “ fore him ; but the many Exorbitances of his Ad-
 “ ministration spread to the whole People, as will ap-
 “ pear from those few Instances, which I shall give ;
 “ by which he put the King on such illegal Attempts
 “ to replenish that Exchequer, which his Ambition
 “ and Pride, more than any Profusion or Expences of
 “ the King, had exhausted.

“ The Reason of this Assertion will be plain, if
 “ your Majesty will reflect on the *more than royal Re-*
 “ *tinue*, which, though a Subject of the lowest and
 “ most plebeian Rise, he maintained. For, not to waste
 “ your Majesty’s important Hours, with a long Ca-
 “ talogue of the Particulars, he had in his Family one
 “ Earl, nine Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, and infe-
 “ rior Officers about one Thousand ; for the Main-
 “ tenance of whom he was at once possessed of the
 “ *Almonership*, the Bishopricks of *Tournay, Lincoln,*
 “ *York, and Durham, St. Albans in commendam,*
 “ the Bishoprick of *Winchester* in exchange for That of
 “ *Durham*, the Revenues of *Those of Bath, Worcester*
 “ and *Hereford*, was Lord Chancellor of *England*, and

“ had the Disposal of all Places of *Trust* and *Profit*,
 “ and *singly* and *alone* dispatched all publick Negotia-
 “ tions.

“ But the Maintenance of so numerous a Depen-
 “ dence was not, perhaps, the Moiety of his Expences.
 “ He had long entertain’d an Ambition to be *Pope* ;
 “ and he was too wise to attempt any Thing in the
 “ *Conclave* or *Court of Rome*, by Means of which he
 “ could have no Hopes of Success. *Money* has
 “ always been the only Argument, which has prevail’d
 “ in the *Papal Elections*, or in the particular Interests,
 “ that the Princes, in Obedience of that See, form
 “ for Themselves or their *Favourites*. The *Cardinal*
 “ therefore must be at an Expence proportionable to the
 “ Vehemence of his Desires ; which having *no Bounds*,
 “ his Largeesses, to obtain that End, could be bounded
 “ by nothing but the Abilities of the *King* and *King-*
 “ *dom* ; the *Treasure* of which was wholly at his Com-
 “ mand.

“ This was the Reason, that prevail’d with him to
 “ engage the King his Master to lend Sums of Money
 “ to the *Emperor* ; whose Poverty was so well known,
 “ that he could have no Prospect of ever having them
 “ repay’d. ’Tis true, the *Emperor* and the *Court of*
 “ *Rome* were not fair Chapmen ; but received his
 “ Money, and at the same Time, instead of promoting,
 “ obstructed all his Aims at the *Triple-Crown*. These
 “ incident Charges, joyn’d with the constant Expences
 “ of so numerous a Retinue, occasion’d perpetual and
 “ large Disbursements ; and These put him on *extra-*
 “ *ordinary Ways and Means* of providing a Fund for
 “ their Continuance.

“ To this end, he grants Commissions, under the
 “ great Seal of *England*, which oblig’d every Man,
 “ on Oath, to deliver the true Value and Estimate of
 “ his Estate ; and to pay *four Shillings in the Pound*
 “ *for every fifty Pounds and upwards*. This was so
 “ heavy and severe a Tax, that its being authoriz’d by
 “ *Parliament*,

“ *Parliament* would not have freed it from the Im-
 “ *putation of an Oppression of the Subject*; but to
 “ be done by the *private Authority of a Subject*, is
 “ what wants a Name; and that it was so, not-
 “ withstanding the *great Seal* was affix’d to the Com-
 “ *missions*, is plain from his Majesty’s *disowning the*
 “ *Matter*, as such a Violation of the *fundamental*
 “ *Rights of the People*, and a *total dissolution of*
 “ *Magna Charta*, that no wise King of England
 “ could be guilty of. A just Consideration of This
 “ made the King declare, *that though his Necessities*
 “ *were great, yet he should never think them great*
 “ *enough to make him attempt the raising Money by any*
 “ *but the legal way; of the People’s consent in Parlia-*
 “ *ment.*

“ ‘Tho’ the King had made this Declaration, and
 “ the Cardinal found his *first illegal Project* defeated;
 “ yet since Money was to be had, or his Designs
 “ would fall to the Ground, he *once more* tries one
 “ as little agreeable to *Law* as the former, though not
 “ so odious and improper. He therefore puts the King
 “ on desiring a *Benevolence* of the People, without an
 “ *Act of Parliament*. And the Commissioners, who
 “ were the Cardinal’s Creatures, and employ’d by
 “ him, *exact’d this Money, not as a free Gift, but as*
 “ *if due by Law*. But in This he was exactly dis-
 “ appointed, tho’ at the *Expence of his Master’s Re-*
 “ *putation*; for the People pleaded a Statute of Richard
 “ III. and obstinately refused to pay it.

“ But, Madam, I must remember to *Whom* it is
 “ that I am speaking; to one of the *wisest and best of*
 “ *Princes*, as being entirely free from all vicious In-
 “ *clinations*; and of too good Judgment to be impos’d
 “ on by the *fairest Appearances of Virtue*, so far as to
 “ lose the juster Considerations of publick Good in
 “ the shining Qualities of any particular. Under
 “ you, MADAM, we find that Saying true, *how*
 “ *happy is the Kingdom govern’d by a Philosopher!* We

“ feel the Blessing, and every Day experience the
 “ Manna of your Reign. And how indulgent soever
 “ your Majesty may be thought to the eminent Excellen-
 “ cies of some, yet I have no Manner of Fear, that
 “ that they will ever be able to expel your Majesty’s
 “ Affections from all your other Subjects; or make you
 “ ever deviate to a Partiality in their Favour, against
 “ the Good and universal Cries of your People.

“ This noble Temper in your Majesty it is, that
 “ secures me against all Fears from this Freedom,
 “ which I have taken; since you will easily see a pub-
 “ lick Spirit, void of all private Aims, shine through
 “ the whole. I have therefore only to add my ar-
 “ dent Wishes for the prosperous and long Reign of your
 “ Majesty, over a People that are sensible of the Blessing,
 “ which Providence has bestowed on them in their gra-
 “ cious Queen.

Thus far the *Memorial*; upon which it is necessary to make a Remark or two.

IT is natural to observe, that the great Councils of the Nation, at the Time when *this Author* wrote, were unbiass’d and uncorrupt, as they are now; and therefore he might safely advise her Majesty to adhere to their publick Decisions; but had he written in some other Reigns, (as, for Instance, in the Reign of King Charles the second) when Parliaments were pack’d and mercenary, we cannot suppose that so wise and upright a Minister would have referr’d his Royal Mistress to the Decision of such an Assembly, as her ultimate Resort; especially since he allows, in another Part of *this Memorial*, that the Authority of Parliament would not have freed an heavy and severe Tax from the Imputation of Oppression.—— The Reader will make the same Distinction, with Relation to the different Methods, which Ministers at that Time and since have made Use of to amass Wealth and aggrandize Themselves. As

As this *seasonable Memorial* seems to have been le-
vell'd against the growing Greatness of *Robert Earl*
of *Leicester*, her Majesty's *chief Favourite* at that Time ;
it cannot be improper to annex his *Character*, as it is
deliver'd to us by Mr. Arch-Deacon *Echard* in his
History of England.

“ This prodigious Man, *says He*, was now in the
“ Verdure and flowering Spring of his Youth ; of a
“ graceful Behaviour ; a stately Carriage ; a beautiful
“ Face ; a modest and grave Look ; and in outward
“ Shew of a *pleasant and easy Disposition* ; and being
“ endow'd with all those flattering Accomplishments
“ the City and Court could produce, he had insinu-
“ ated himself into the Favour and Familiarity of the
“ *Queen* by his specious Shews of Loyalty, Industry
“ and Vigilance in her Service ; and long managed the
“ greatest Station in the Court, and was reputed the
“ *Prime Minister* of State—— He became after-
“ wards fullen to his *Superiors* ; haughty to his
“ *Equals* ; insolent to his *Inferiors* ; ungrateful to his
“ *Friends* ; and pernicious to his *Enemies* ; and, in a
“ word, insupportable to all but the *Queen*. He
“ put himself forwards, and assumed the distant Em-
“ ployments of *Peace* and *War* ; was continually
“ working to find the Studies, Abilities, Forces and
“ Dispositions of *other Men*.—— He, by his Interest,
“ advanced his *Dependants, Kindred and Relations*
“ to all Honours and Employments ; and when he
“ found the Opportunity, he as craftily *sold* his
“ *Mistress's Favours*, and the Employments he had
“ taken from *others*. He had, by his subtle Projects
“ and Counsels, engross'd all the Rewards of Virtue,
“ Riches, Honours, Attendants, and the first Place
“ of Minister of State ; and he managed them, and
“ lived without any Religion towards God or Fidelity
“ to Men ; making it his great Design to cover all
“ Things with *Luxury, Cruelties and Rapines*. For
“ a considerable Time, few were called to the *Council*

“ *Table,*

“ *Table*, or admitted to Titles of *Honour*, but by his
 “ Commendation or Procurement; so that he seem’d
 “ not so much to be the *Queen’s particular Favourite*,
 “ as her *Partner in the Sovereign Power*; and was ac-
 “ cordingly courted and rever’d by the rest of the *No-*
 “ *bility*. If we may believe some Men’s Characters
 “ of him, he had all the Tyranny, Insolence and most
 “ aspiring Ambition of the *worst of Favourites*, and all
 “ the Luxury, Treachery, and most abominable Vil-
 “ lanies of the *worst of Men*; and Queen *Elizabeth*,
 “ with all her *Virtues and Excellencies*, was scarce
 “ able to secure herself from being made *infamous* and
 “ *unfortunate* by the monstrous *Wickedness* of this
 “ *Earl*.

D.



N^o 139. SATURDAY, *March 1, 1728-9.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



Now send you my Observations on the
 Reign of King JAMES the *first*; in
 which I am partly anticipated by a
 Pamphlet, just published, intitled, *The*
Condu&t of Queen Elizabeth towards
the neighbouring Nations, and particu-
larly SPAIN, compared with That of JAMES I. &c.
 But as this Author confines Himself chiefly to the
 foreign Transactions of that Reign, it may be still
 thought incumbent upon me to perform my Pro-
 mise.

The

The *Cecil Party* being grown absolute (as I observed before) towards the latter End of the late Reign, by the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, They became personally insolent to the Queen, as well as to the Nation, and insisted upon the Necessity of declaring her *Successor*; which she would never suffer to be mentioned, whilst she kept Herself from being *engrossed*, by encouraging *contending Factions* in her Court; but when These were crushed by the impolitic Severity against *Essex*, she found Herself obliged to comply with their Demands, by nominating the King of *Scotland* to succeed Her; who, besides the old Feuds and natural Antipathy between the two Nations, must bring along with Him very strong Resentments against the People of *England*, for having taken away his Mother's Life, in so extraordinary a Manner, on a publick Scaffold. It is therefore very well observed by Mr. *Osborne*, in his *Memorials* on this Reign, *that little Thanks are due to Those, who made the Nation accessory, through this solemn Tryal, to the Death of that Prince's Mother, whom They meant to set upon the Throne*; and, what is still worse, without obliging Him to any such *Articles* or *cautionary Stipulations*, as were exacted from *Philip the second* of *Spain*, upon his Marriage with Queen *Mary*, and ought to be exacted from all *Aliens*, who succeed to the Throne; but They defeated the Proposal of such Limitations, which was made by Sir *John Fortescue* and others, in order to make their Court more effectual to the new King.

The long and prosperous Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* had subdued all the Opposition, which she met with, upon her Accession to the Throne, both at home and abroad, and carried the Prerogative to such an Heighth, that had she been succeeded by a Prince, of half her Wisdom and Abilities, He would have found it no difficult Matter to have made Himself *absolute*; but his whole Reign was such a continued

Series and Composition of Weakness and Iniquity, that as his arbitrary Designs could not escape Observation, so they roused up the Spirit of a brave People, jealous of their Liberties, and laid the Foundation of all those terrible Confusions and Calamities, which broke out in the Reign of his unfortunate Son.

He discovered, immediately upon his Accession, such a monstrous Partiality to his Countrymen, the *Scots*, who swarmed over hither by Thousands, that all Places of publick Resort, even the Court itself not excepted, were filled with Clamours and Complaints. He not only loaded them with Riches, Honours, and Power, but suffered them to pillage, persecute and insult his *English* Subjects in so gross a Manner, that, according to the same Author, He was looked upon by the latter only as a *King-in-Law*, not a Prince of any natural Affections to the People of this Nation.

His Thoughts were so intent upon Ease and Pleasure, that He would suffer nothing to interrupt the Felicity, which He promised Himself from a quiet and indolent Reign. With this mean View, He cast Himself, as it were blind-fold, into a Peace with *Spain*, which was at that Time the most formidable and aspiring Power in *Europe*, though the glorious and uninterrupted Successes of the late *Queen* had very much reduced it. The *Catholick King* was made so sensible of our Strength at Sea, and so apprehensive of farther Losses, that he seemed desirous to purchase our Friendship upon any Terms; but the pacifick and even pusillanimous Disposition of the King, joined with the voracious Spirit of his *Favourites*, made it unnecessary for the *Spanish* Court to be at any other Expence than a little *Flattery* to the first, and a little *Bribery* to the last.

As His Vanity made Him always liable to be imposed on by fair Speeches and outward Appearances of Grandeur, *Gundamor* was sent over to amuse Him with a splendid Embassy from *Spain*, and acted his

Part so craftily that, in a little Time, He gained the chief Ascendant over the King, and influenced all his Counsels. His most successful Bait was a Match, which he had Orders to propose between the *Prince of England* and an *Infanta of Spain*; of which the King grew so fond, by the artful Representations of *Gundamor*, that He suffered Himself to be deluded with the Hopes of it for twelve Years together, and not only most unjustly sacrificed to it the Life of my great Kinsman Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but ingloriously abandoned the Interest of his Son-in-Law the *Elector Palatine*, in the last Extremities; and with it the whole *Protestant* Interest in *Germany*.

The Case of Sir *Walter Raleigh* is too well known to require any farther Animadversion than the bare Mention of it; and the Affair of the *Palatinate* is so fully represented in the Pamphlet, just published upon this Subject, that I shall be very brief in my Observations upon it.

The *Elector Palatine of the Rhine*, being married to the Princess *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *James*, was encouraged to accept the Crown of *Bohemia*, (upon the Revolt of the People of that Kingdom from the Emperor *Ferdinand* their Prince) in Hopes of Protection from their Father-in-law, the King of *England*; and the other Princes and States of *Germany*, being very much harrassed and oppressed by the *Emperor*, it was thought almost impossible for Him to fail of obtaining the *Imperial* Crown likewise, if the seasonable Supplies had been sent Him from that Quarter, from which it was most proper to expect them. But the King's Heart was so much set upon this Match, (besides his natural Love of Ease, and Propensity to Fear) that the Court of *Spain* found it no hard Task, by continually trumping up new Difficulties and Delays, and protracting the Negotiations from Time to Time, to prevent his giving the *Elector* any Assistance till it was too late. The Lord *Vere* indeed was sent into

into *Germany* with an Handful of Men; but lest even that inconsiderable Number should be of any Service, He was restrained by a *Pacifick Commission*, which impowered Him *to do nothing*. He contented Himself with dispatching Remonstrances in their Favour, and one Embassy upon the Heels of another, in which He called Them his *dearest Children*, though He would not contribute any Succours to prevent their Ruin; which render'd Him so contemptible over all *Europe*, that He was publicly ridicul'd upon the Stage at *Paris* by a Person, who was introduced giving an Account of the King of *Bobemia's* Affairs, and being asked what Hopes He had of being re-instated in his Dominions, He answered, *Very great Hopes; for, said He, prodigious Aids were promised to Him, and amongst the rest ten thousand Ambassadors from England.*

In short, the Consequence of this timorous and most unnatural Conduct of the King, was the Ruin of both these unfortunate Princes; who in the decisive Battle of *Prague*, lost not only their new acquired Titles, and glorious future Prospects, but all their former Substance and hereditary Dominions, and could hardly secure a Retreat to *Holland*, where they found an honourable Protection for their Persons, which was refused them by a Father, who used to stile Them, in all his *Manifesto's* his *dearest Children*.

I shall only observe farther, upon this Head, that our present most august Sovereign, and his illustrious Family, derive their Extraction and their Title from this excellent Princess; whom Providence hath, at length, recompenced for all the Misfortunes, which she suffered from the Neglect of an *indolent Father*, by placing her royal Posterity on the Throne of *Great Britain*.

Such were the *foreign Transactions* and *Negotiations* of this Reign; and *domestick Affairs* were managed in the same *weak and scandalous Manner*. King *James* was,

was, in his Temper, directly the reverse of his great Predecessor, Queen *Elizabeth*; excessively profuse of the publick Treasure; and, in his private Capacity, sordidly avaricious.——He was a secret Favourer of the *Papists*; and, in order to conceal it from the Notice of the Publick, gave Encouragement to Luxury of all Kinds, and endeavoured to render Frugality, Temperance, and Honesty ridiculous, by branding them with the Name of *Puritanism*; a Term, which was industriously fixed, not only upon the Sectarists in Religion, but upon every Man of Conscience, Honour, and Virtue, who refused to comply with the fashionable Vices and Extravagance of the Times.——The Doctrines of *passive Obedience* and *political, implicit Faith* were strongly inculcated all this Reign; especially by the Court-Preachers, who maintained *that the People, if They denied the King Supplies, or enquired after the Disposal of them, were presumptuous Peepers into the sacred Ark of State; and that They had no other Refuge left, under the most cruel Tyranny, but Prayers and Tears.*——The Nation was oppressed with *Impositions, Monopolies, Grants, Privy Seals, Deficiencies, Embezzlements, Forfeitures, and arbitrary Prosecutions*; especially against Those, who presumed to be satirical on the *reigning Favourite*, or the *Corruptions* of the Times.——He suffered his Treasurer, the Earl of *Salisbury* (who was, at that Time, call'd King *ROBIN*) to institute a *new Order of Knighthood* to serve his *private Designs*. He sold vast Quantities of crown Timber at low Prices; endeavoured to corrupt his Parliaments; and, contrary to the wise Practice of Queen *Elizabeth*, *never gratified the Subject but upon urgent Necessity, or by way of Barter; which made their Representative consider Him, at best, but in the Relation of a Merchant, and Themselves as Countrymen, brought up only to be couzen'd.*——He filled the Church with *Bishops*; who being, for the most Part, intent upon nothing

but their *temporal Revenues*, and Hopes of *Translations* to *better Sees*, were easily kept in Subserviency to the *Court*; and, by their *servile Writings*, were always ready to justify the *Measures*, and promote the *Intreaques* of the *Minister*. He sullied the Bench with several ignorant and corrupt Judges, in order to carry on his Design of interpreting the Law, touching the *post nati*, in Favour of his *Scotch Subjects*, who continued to prey, like Locusts, on the Blood and Vitals of this Nation—He suffered his Ministers to prostitute the Honour of the *Council-Table*, by bringing in Causes of *private Property* to be tried there, and determining them with an high Hand in their own Favour, without any Regard to Justice—In short, He was despised, trifled with, ridicul'd, insulted both at home and abroad; and we may say of Him (as I think it is somewhere observed) *that of a wise Man, He was the weakest Prince, that ever sat upon the English Throne.*

As I took Notice that the Glory of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign was chiefly owing to her prudent Management of *Factions* in her Court, and keeping the supream Authority in her *own Hands*; so I am ready to confess that great Part of the Mismanagement, Corruption and Infamy of this Reign ought to be imputed to the Prevalence of *aspiring* and *rapacious Favourites*; for it is a just Observation of *Mr. Osborne*, that the *setting up these golden Calves* cost England more than *Queen Elizabeth* spent in all Her Wars. You have already delineated the Character of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the *greatest Engrosser*, and the most *absolute Minion*, except *Wolsey*, under whom this Nation ever groaned; and may it never be oppressed with a *Third*, who resembles either or both of them, in their principal Features!

Having now performed what I promised and proposed, I shall only add a Word or two by Way of Conclusion. I am sensible that I shall be charged, by the Writers on the opposite Side, with drawing *invidious Parallels*;

Parallels; and I cannot deny that there are several Circumstances in both *Reigns*, which may be applied to the *present Times*; but I assure you, Mr. D'Anvers, (and I do it with *all possible Seriousness*) that my chief Design was to set these *two Reigns* in an *impartial Light*, according to the best Historians, in order to recommend the Measures of the *former*, as *Patterns of Imitation*, and to mark out Those of the *latter* as *dangerous Rocks of State*, which ought to be cautiously avoided by every *wise Prince* and *honest Minister*.

I am Sir, &c.

D.

W. RALEIGH.

From my own Chambers.

I Apprehended that my Friend *Publicola* had been-laid under a Prohibition not to meddle any more in Politicks, since his last memorable Defeat; and that He was order'd to change his *Panegyricks upon Ministers* into *Dissertations against the christian Religion*; of which He hath given us a pretty Specimen in some late Papers. But I find that He is once more let loose in *State Affairs*; and He hath made so shining a Figure in the *London Journal* of *Saturday* last, (whether we consider the Solidity of his Arguments, or the great Civility of his Language) that if I should take no Notice of Him, it might put Him out of Humour, and provoke Him, perhaps, to treat me with as much Outrage, as He hath modestly bestowed upon some Gentleman of *Distinction*, who is, it seems, a P——C——r and M—— of P——t. He confesses that *This Gentleman bath been a noted Friend to Liberty in Church and State, and done many eminent publick Service.— The Good of his Country bath been his chief Glory.*

But as *Publicola* is now resolved to call *this Patriot* an *Apostate to the Common wealth*, We are very ingeniously told, *it had been better that He had never discovered such a Zeal for publick Good.* The Reason is obvious; for had this Gentleman ever been a noted *Enemy to Liberty*; or had He ever been *convicted of Corruption*, or of having made the *publick Good* subservient to his *private Interest*, his Influence would certainly have been less, and *Publicola* might have abused Him with a much better Grace.

All the Provocation I can find for such extraordinary Usage is, that I write a *weekly Journal*; and, in a late one, have pointed out *sixteen Signs of a declining Minister*; but I have not Time to enlarge upon this impotent Malice of my *Brother Journalist*; because it is proper to make a few Remarks on Mr. *Osborne's* judicious Reflections on the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, in the Light, in which he hath set Them. He commends that wise Princess for entering so slowly into a War, and instances *That in the Low Countries*, which she did not declare, till she had in vain *endeavoured for a milder governing of the King of Spain's Dutch Subjects, by Way of MEDIATION*; because, by this Forbearance, *her Enemies had Leisure given them to consider of a Reparation*; and I believe it will appear, that the same Leisure was given her Subjects to raise Taxes; the Burthen of which They never used to feel, without soon finding some Benefits procured by Them. But to what Purpose was This quoted? Were *Queen Elizabeth* or Her Subjects aggrieved by the *Catholick King*? On the contrary, was she not the Aggressor, in this Case, by undertaking the Protection of the *Hollanders* against their Prince; (though it must be confessed a very politic Proceeding) and can we suppose, that if her own Dominions had been actually attacked, she would have been equally slow in the Defence of Them? Surely This is a fallacious Way of arguing by Parallel, when there is so wide a Difference of Times and Circumstances. The

The next Passage He cites from Mr. Osborne, is to shew her Forbearance in *precipitating Reprizals, to gratify the Clamours of a few embark'd Merchants*; and how is This to be applied? Why, in the Opinion of honest *Publicola*, the just Complaints, made by our Merchants, of the many and great Losses, which They have sustained, *through a Course of several Years, are the Clamours of a few Merchants, who ought not to be gratified.* But I shall leave this modest Insinuation to the just Resentment of those unhappy Gentlemen, and proceed to the Conclusion of this incomparable Performance, where we shall agree pretty well; for I am ready to allow, that our admirable Ministry *have spared no Expence to prevent a War*; tho' I do not find that with all their *Expence*, it is yet *absolutely prevented*; but I think that our Author, on this Occasion, need not have passed so heavy a Censure on the *Parfimony of Queen Elizabeth*, which Mr. Osborne says was a *Fault the more excusable, because it proceeded from her Majesty's tender Regard for the Lives and Estates of her Subjects*; an Observation, which Mr. *Publicola* thought fit to suppress, though He quoted the Passage, to which it is annexed. Her many Virtues might have cover'd that *one Fault*; especially since we have no Reason to apprehend, from the present Disposition of Men and Things, that the Authority of *her Example*, in this Particular, will easily produce the like Mischiefs, or occasion the *starving any Designs, for Want of either Men or Money.*

D.





N° 140. SATURDAY, *March 8*, 1728-9.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



Hough you are a *very old Gentleman*, and seem to have made *political Affairs* your chief Study; yet you have convinc'd us, by several of your Writings, that you are no Enemy to *Wit*, and *Humour* and *Pleasantry*, and consequently to the *Stage*; a Subject, which some late *Incidents* have made very worthy of your Consideration.

As the original Design of the *Theatre* is *Entertainment* and *Instruction*; the Promotion of *Virtue* and the Discouragement of *Vice*; the noblest Ends that can be propos'd by any Institution; it is the Duty of every Well-wisher to the publick Good to maintain the *Liberty of the Stage*, on one hand; and, on the other, to discourage every Attempt, which may tend to render it obnoxious to Those, who have it in their Power to suppress or restrain it.

One of your late Correspondents, who subscribed Himself *Hilarius*, observed very justly, *that it is the Duty of Men in Authority to take particular Care that Scandal and Sedition be not exhibited to the People, under the Pretence of dramatical Entertainments; which may, no doubt, be often the Case, without any Design, or even the Suspicion of the Author.* My Intention, in the following Letter, is to illustrate this Point, at large, by several Instances from our most celebra-

celebrated Writers, and to offer a Project for preventing this Evil to the Publick.

I am sensible that such an Attempt may, at first Sight, appear ridiculous and impracticable, without absolutely suppressing the *Liberty of the Stage*; or suspending it, at least, for some Time, in Imitation of a *like Proposal*, lately published in the *Daily Journal*, with Relation to the PRESS; but I know very well that, according to the present Disposition of *some Men*, either of these Attempts would be violently opposed, however the *present Conjuncture* might require it; and I think that I can point out *another Method*, which I hope will be liable to no Objections, since it does not extend either to a *Suppression* or a *Suspension*.

Without farther Preface, my *Proposal* is, that a *Committee of learned Gentlemen* should be appointed, with proper Salaries, to inspect and examine all *dramatical Performances*, ancient as well as modern, of what Kind soever (whether *Tragedies*, *Comedies*, *Masques*, *Interludes*, *Farces*, *Pastorals*, or *Operas*) and to obliterate or soften all such Passages as appear offensive; or which They shall apprehend the *present Circumstances* of the Times may render subject, in any Manner, to *bad Interpretations*. For this Purpose, I would have the *Commissioners* impowered to establish a large *INDEX EXPURGATORIUS*; into which all such *obnoxious Passages*, as are too gross to bear any *Alteration*, shall be transcribed; and the *Players* shall be obliged, under severe Penalties, to omit them in their future Representations.

It does not become a private Man to give his Opinion, what Persons are proper to be appointed upon this *Committee*; but if the Project shall be thought to have so much Merit as to entitle me to the Nomination of *one Man*, I would certainly recommend the judicious and candid Mr. C——; provided his Concern in the *Management* of one Theatre shall not be thought a just Objection; and He will bind Himself,

in

in the most effectual Manner we can find out, not to write any more *Himself*.

I think myself particularly obliged to prefer Mr. C—— on this Occasion, because I am not ashamed to confess that I took the Hint of this Project from some late *Castrations* and *Softenings*, which, I am told, are owing to his prudent and excellent Discernment.

I went, some Time ago, to see the *What d'ye call it*, written by the Author of the *Beggar's Opera*, and when *Filbert* came to this Passage, *viz.*

*I bate the Wench,
I'll bear a Musquet then against the French.*

I was extreamly pleased to find it altered in this elegant Manner, *viz.*

*I bate her Looks,
I'll bear a Musquet then ——— Odzooks!*

This shews how cautious the *Emendator* was of giving any Offence to our *Allies* at this *critical Con-juncture*; for it would, no doubt, have been very improper to speak these Lines, as They were originally written; when, instead of *bearing a Musquet against the French*, We hope the *French* (if there should be any Occasion) will be so kind as to *bear a Musquet with us*, and in our Service. It shews, besides, the generous Regard of *this Gentleman* for the Reputation of a *brother Writer*, by accommodating his Works, in this laudable Manner, to the *Times*, rather than *suppressing the whole Play*, after He hath already had one Misfortune, of the same Kind, this Season.

He hath observed the same Caution in the late Representation of *Henry the fourth*. You may remember there is a Scene, where *Falstaff praises Himself* to the Prince in a most extraordinary Manner; which hath been prudently *omitted*, ever since one of your
Cor-

Correspondents unluckily applied it to a *modern Gentleman*, who is famous for the same Kind of *Self-Panegyrick*.

I should likewise be glad to know any other Reason, why the following Passage hath been left out of the *Village Opera*, viz. *I take Shame to myself*; because it pass'd without any Censure the *first Night*, and therefore it cannot be supposed that it was omitted in Complaisance to the *Audience*.

I have digressed thus far, to justify my Recommendation of Mr. C——r, and now return to the *Project* itself.

The great Rock to be avoided, upon this Occasion, is any Reflection upon *Ministers of State*; who are not only *equal to Princes themselves*; but, as far as I can observe, much *more sacred*. The Characters of *Richard the third*, *Mackbeth*, *Bajazet*, and many other *wicked Princes* have been long represented on the Stage, without being interpreted into *libellous Parallels*, or giving any Offence. But as soon as a *wicked, corrupt Minister* is exposed, his Character is immediately applied, and the *secular Arm* is call'd upon to punish the audacious Transgressor.

For this Reason, I would have it established as an eternal Rule, that no *Character*, of *this Sort*, should be ever suffered to appear on the Stage. Let *dramatical Writers* be as free and satyrical as They please upon the *Vices of Princes*; but remember that the Characters of *Ministers*, however wicked, ought always to be inviolable. I have often observed, with Pleasure, that *Ben Johnson's Fall of Sejanus* hath not been acted for many Years; and I could wish that the *Fall of Cardinal Wolsey*, as drawn by *Shakespeare*, in his *History of Henry the eight*, may not be exhibited any more; or, at least, that many Passages in it may be *castrated* or *modernized*, according to my *present Proposal*; especially the following most notorious one, viz.

This

This CARDINAL does every Thing——

I am willing to believe that Sir *John Denham's Sopby* hath been long laid aside on the same Account; for the Character of *HALI*, the *chief Favourite*, seems to be a most *virulent, allegorical Libel* on all *prime Ministers, past, present and to come*. I will quote only *one Passage*, where this most *abominable and perfidious Minister* avows his Treasons to his Master's Face and, being ordered to be *seized*, defies Him in this insolent Manner.

———Now,
Though 'tis too late to learn, yet know
'Gainst you are *King again*, what 'tis to let your
Dispose all Offices of *Trust and Power*. (Subjects
The *Beast* obeys his *Keeper*, and looks up,
Not to his *Master's*, but his *Feeder's* Hand;
And when you gave *me* Power to dispense
And make your Favours *mine*, in the same Hour
You made yourself *my Shadow*; and 'twas my Courtesy
To let you *live and reign* so long.

Mr. *Dryden's* Plays are full of the same *Invectives* on *Ministers*; but the Limits of this Paper will allow me to give only an Instance or two. In the *Spanish Fryar* are the following Passages, *viz.*

A *Government*, that knowing not *true Wisdom*,
Is scorn'd *abroad* and lives on *Tricks at home*.

In the same Play are the following remarkable Passages between the *Queen* and *Bertran*, her *first Minister*;

Queen. This 'tis to counsel Things that are *unjust*;
First to debauch a *King* to break his *Laws*,
(Which

(Which are his *Safety*) and then seek Protection
From *Him* you have *endanger'd*——

Bert. If *Princes* not protect their *Ministers*,
What Man will dare to *serve* them?

Queen. None will dare

To serve Them *ill*, when They are left to *Laws*;
But when a *Counsellor*, to serve *Himself*,
Would lay *Miscarriages* upon his *Prince*,
Exposing Him to publick Rage and Hate;
Oh, 'tis an Act, as infamously base,
As should a *common Soldier* sculk behind,
And thrust his *General* in the Front of War.
It shews, He only *serv'd Himself* before,
And had no Sense of Honour, Country, King,
But center'd on *Himself*; and us'd his *Master*,
As *Guardians* do their *Wards*, with Shews of Care,
But with Intent to sell the *publick Safety*,
And *POCKET up his Prince*.

I am sorry to observe, that even the late excellent and candid Mr. *Addison* is guilty of some *general Expressions* of this Nature, in his immortal Tragedy of *CATO*, which may be *particularly apply'd*. As for Instance.

O *Portius*, is there not some chosen Curse,
Some hidden Thunder in the Stores of Heaven,
Red with uncommon Wrath, to blast the *Man*,
Who owes his *Greatness* to his *Country's* Ruin!

Again,

O *Liberty*! O *Virtue*! O my *Country*!

and to mention no more;

When *impious Men* bear sway,!

The Post of *Honour* is a *private Station*.

These Instances, taken from some of our most celebrated Writers, are sufficient to shew the Necessity of
such

such a *Protestant Index*, in order to prevent the malicious Applications of *ill-designing Men* and preserve the Honour of *Those*, who are intrusted with Authority.

It may be objected, that a strict Execution of *this Scheme* will reduce many of our most *popular Plays* to so narrow a Compass, as to render them unfit for the Stage.—I confess there is some Weight in this Objection; but you know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that *salus Populi est suprema Lex*; and I would propose that these Chasms should be filled up by *some Person*, of unquestioned Attachment, whom the *Commissioners* shall appoint; or supplied with the modern Addition of a *dumb Entertainment*.

I shall leave it to the Consideration of the Publick, whether *this Project* may not be extended to *Historians*, and *other Writers*, antient and modern. It is well known that the *Church of Rome* have already garbled them; in some Measure, to serve the same *good End*; and I hope it can be no Reflection on the *Protestant Cause*, to follow their Example in a Proceeding, which is so evidently calculated for the *publick Welfare*.

I am, S I R,

A.

Your most assured Friend,

and constant Reader,

DRAMATICUS.



N^o 141. SATURDAY, *March 15, 1728-9.*

*To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;**Mr. D'Anvers,**March 6.*

Went last Night to hear the celebrated Mr. *Henley*, at his new *Oratory* in *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*, and think my self oblig'd to acknowledge the agreeable Entertainment, which He gave us. His Discourse was on *Fishes*; and He proved very learnedly and metaphysically that every Thing was *Fish*, and that the World was nothing but a great *Fish-Pond*, where Mankind laid Baits to ensnare and catch one another. He observ'd very acutely that *Politicians* were *Crab-Fish*, who go backwards and forwards; or a Sort of *Eels*, that wriggle and twist, and slip through our Fingers, do what we will; or *Pikes*, who tyrannize in the Waters, and devour almost every other *Fish* that comes in their Way; especially *Trouts* and *Gudgeons*; though it is remarkable, *said He*, that *Place* is their most favourite Food.

He told us, that there were two Kinds of *Fish*, which were exceedingly pernicious to Mankind. One is the *Numb-Fish*; an Animal of such a torpid Nature, that it stupifies every Body, who handles it, or even touches it with a Stick or a Wand; and he gave us shrewd Hints that some *late Writers*, and even *Statesmen*, seem to have been infected with this *dull Poison*. The other is the *Remora*; a little *Fish*, which sticks to the Keel of a *Ship*; and, by some unaccountable,

magical Force, stops the Course of it. He assur'd us, that He had known a *large Squadron*, consisting of twenty or thirty Sail of Ships, *water-bound* for a Year together, and prevented from making any *Reprizals* on an *insulting Enemy*, by the secret and wonderful Power of this *little Creature*.

He told us that the greatest *Fish* of the Creation was the *LEVIATHAN*; but there He dropt us. I was, I confess, somewhat surpriz'd that He did not enter more largely into so copious a Subject. Perhaps, He reserves it for another Opportunity; but I cannot resist the Temptation, which I am now under, to send you some Thoughts upon this prodigious *MAN-FISH*.

The *Commentators* upon the Bible are very much divided in their Opinions, concerning the *Leviathan*. Some imagine Him to be the *Whale*; and others maintain that He is the *Crocodile*; tho' it is manifest that the Description of Him, as drawn by the sacred Writers, agrees with *neither* of Them. It would be needless to trouble the Reader with the various Conjectures of the Learned upon *this Head*, and the Reasons, upon which They are founded. For my Part, I think them all mistaken; and that, by the *Leviathan*, is not meant *any Fish at all*; I mean no *Water Animal*; but a *certain, great, voracious Land-Fish* (according to Mr. Henley's System) whom, in common Language, we call a *wicked Statesman*.

I am sensible that this Interpretation may be liable to Objection, and perhaps Censure, as a novel Opinion; but I think I can justify it by authoritative Proof and solid Argument.

The Word *לִיָּאָתָן* (in the original *Hebrew*) signifies *Draco Draconum*; a *Dragon of Dragons*. Now I think it is generally agreed that there is no such Animal as a *Dragon*, according to the vulgar Opinion; but that it is only what the Schoolmen call *Ens Rationis*;

tionis ; a *fictitious Creature of the Brain*, which allegorically represents something else. But to go farther ; a *Dragon* is said to be a *large, overgrown Serpent, which hath swoln itself to an enormous Size by devouring other Serpents* ; from whence comes this figurative Proverb ; *Serpens Serpentem nisi comederit, non fit Draco* ; that is, *The Corruption and Depredation of the People is the Generation of a wicked, great Minister.*

Agreeably to this Interpretation, *Leviathan* is call'd the *crooked Serpent* ; which, in Scripture Language, signifies the *Devil* ; or *Men*, who resemble Him in their Actions ; from which it appears farther evident, that by the *Leviathan* is not meant any *real Water Fish*, or *brute Animal*, which hath no Faculties to distinguish between *Good* and *Evil*.

I hope This will be thought sufficient to justify my Opinion that the *Leviathan* was only a figurative Expression to denote *wicked Men* in general ; or perhaps the *real Name* of some wicked, great Man of those Times ; or a *fictitious* one, at least, made Use of to expose such a *Monster* with Impunity.

This seems the more probable to me, because I don't find the Word *Leviathan* mention'd in any other Places of Scripture, than in *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the Prophecies of *Isaiah* ; which are all known to consist chiefly of *Parables, Allegories* and *moral Reflections*. I shall therefore proceed to shew that what is said of the *Leviathan*, by those Writers, is applicable to this Interpretation.

There is one whole Chapter in *Job*, (*viz.* the 41st) which consists entirely of a Description of *this Animal*. That He was an *human Creature* and a *Man in Power*, appears from the following Passages.

Will He make Supplications unto Thee ? Will He speak soft Words unto Thee ?

R. 2.

Will

Will He make a Covenant with Thee ? Wilt Thou take Him for a SERVANT FOR EVER ?

Shall the Companions make a Banquet of Him ? Shall They part Him among the MERCHANTS.

It seems very probable from the *last Passage*, that loud Complaints were made, at this Time, against some *great Man*, who, by rash Management or ill Designs, had brought Distresses upon *Trade* in general, as well as heavy Losses upon many *Merchants* in particular ; and therefore it was judged reasonable, for their Relief and Satisfaction, to strip Him of his *ill-gotten Wealth*, and to part it amongst the *unhappy Sufferers*.

It is added. *Behold ! the Hope of Him is in vain ;* which is capable of *two Interpretations* ; either *first* that the *Merchants* found, by Experience, that *it was in vain to hope for Redress at his Hands* ; or *secondly* that *his Hopes were vain* of maintaining his Power against such just and popular Resentments.

His Power and ill Use of it appear farther from the following Passages in the same Place.

None is so fierce, that dare stir him up.

I will not conceal his Parts nor his Power.

His Heart is as firm as as a Stone ; yea as hard as a Piece of the nether Millstone.

Upon Earth there is not his like.

He beholdeth all high Things. He is a King over all the Children of Pride.

And, in another Place of Scripture, I think it is said that *He sporteth in the Waters* ; which, according to the oriental Way of Writing, signifies that his *wanton Power was founded on the Tears and Afflictions of the People*.

It is likewise remarkable that He was a Man of, what we commonly call, a *very good Assurance*; and that He had a *Cabal of Creatures*, who would stick by Him upon any Occasion. Observe what the *sacred Writer* says of Him, upon these Heads.

His Scales are his Pride, shut up together as with a close Seal.

One is so near to another, that no Air can come between them.

They are join'd one to another. They stick together that They cannot be sundred.

I have the Pleasure to add that this *monstrous Leviathan*; or this *tyrannical, insolent, overbearing Minister* was, at length, humbled and subdued; as appears from the following Passage in the *Psalms*.

Thou brakest the Heads of Leviathan in Pieces, and gavest Him to be Meat to the People, inhabiting the Wilderness.

It is said that the *Heads of Leviathan were broken in Pieces*; from which it appears that not only *Leviathan Himself*, but his *whole Faction of Tools and Creatures* were demolish'd together. This is an exact Completion of what was prophes'y'd of Him in *Job*, that *the Companions should make a Banquet of Him*; (or, as it is said in this Place, that *He should be given for Meat to the People, inhabiting the Wilderness*;) and I make no Doubt that the *injur'd Merchants*, before-mention'd, had their Share, or Part of Him.

I shall conclude with observing that Mr. Osborne, as well as other Writers, calls a *great, wicked Minister* a *Court Leviathan*, in Allusion to this *Original*, whom I have described; and it is, I presume, the same Reason, which induced Mr. *Hobbes* to intitle his famous *Treatise upon Government*, *LEVIATHAN*; and

to prefix to it, for a Frontispiece, a monstrous and terrible Figure, in a human Shape, rising out of the Earth, with a *Crown* upon his Head, a *Sword* in one Hand, and a *Crozier* in the other ; his *Body* and *Arms* emboss'd with Figures of Men, in various Habits, representing his *Dependants* ; and with this Motto over his Head ; *non est Potestas super terram, quæ comparetur ei.*

N.

*I am S I R,**Your Friend and Reader,**ANTI-LEVIATHAN.*

*To a CERTAIN GENTLEMAN,
Who takes the Character of Card. Wolsey
to HIMSELF.*

An EPIGRAM.

HOW vain, *Sir Knight*, is thy affected Rage,
That *Thou* and *Wolsey* in the self-same Page
Stand charg'd alike ?——The *Cardinal*, 'tis true,
Had many publick Vices ; so hast *Thou*.
But *He* had Virtues, as his Foes agree ;
Which, thy Friends own, are wanting all in *Thee* ;
Tho' proud, corrupt, ambitious, and severe,
Still to the *Muse* He lent a gracious Ear ;
Learned Himself, to Learning was a Friend ;
Himself, adorn'd with Arts, did Arts extend ;
Whilst all thy Knowledge is confin'd to Gain,
To Funds and Stocks, and Bribes, thy Country's Bane ;
His publick Spirit lives in *Christ-Church* Dome ;
Thy Charity **BEGINS**, and **ENDS** at home.

A.

SATURDAY,

N^o 142. SATURDAY, *March 22, 1728-9.**To* CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



FIND that nothing gives your Adversaries more Offence or Uneasiness than those *historical Dissertations*, which they call *Parallels*. The Reason seems to be, that *Facts* are stubborn Things, and cannot be so easily evaded as Discourses upon *general Subjects*, however strongly supported by Argument and Reason. The *Writers* against you are grown out of all Patience with the Names of *Sejanus*, *Wolfey*, and *Buckingham*; and one of them (I think it is *Publicola*) hath lately desired that you will *mention them no more*. I hope, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you will be so good as to grant Him this Request; and suffer these three great Predecessors of *Publicola's* FRIEND to rest in their Graves, without any farther Disturbance, unless upon very extraordinary Occasions, after they have done you such eminent Service. I am however very far from advising you to leave off *this Manner of Writing*; which I take to be of the greatest Use and Service to the Publick; as it tends to forewarn all Ages, against *evil Counsels* and *corrupt Ministers*, by setting before their Eyes, in the strongest Light, what have been the Consequences of *such Counsels*, and the terrible Fate of *such Ministers* in former Times; but I have the more Reason to hope, that you will oblige Mr. *Publicola* in this Point, because there are Multitudes of *other wicked*

wicked Ministers, whose Characters are as yet intirely untouch'd by you ; and you need not be afraid of exhausting so copious a Subject.

The Fate of the famous *Pensionary, De Wit*, hath lately been urged against you, as an Instance of an able and honest Minister, who was sacrificed to the Rage of popular Resentment ; and the general good Character, which He hath left behind Him, both as to *Ability* and *Integrity*, makes it worth Examination, how this Opinion came to prevail ; for though his *Capacities*, in other Respects, should be allowed as large as the most sanguine Partizans can desire ; yet I think it demonstrable that, with Relation to *France*, they were not employed for the *Good of his Country* ; but that his whole Conduct was influenced either by *selfish* and *corrupt Views*, or very *absurd Politicks*, manifestly contrary to the Interests of the *united Provinces*.

I observe that the Authority of Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE* hath been quoted against you on this Occasion ; and I am of Opinion that it is, in a great Measure, owing to the candid Representations of this excellent, great Man, that so much Tenderness hath been shewn to the Memory of Monsieur *De Wit*.

I speak This with great Deference to the Judgment of Sir *William Temple* ; and without any Intention of reflecting on his Character ; for the *Pensionary's* criminal Correspondence, and Intrigues with the *French Court*, were not then fully proved, though generally suspected and believed ; whereas the Evidence, upon which I build my Argument, is taken from the *Letters* of the Count *D'Estrades*, Ambassador of *France* at that Time in *Holland*, published since the Death of Sir *William Temple*.

This great Minister had the sole Management of Affairs in *Holland*, when the Power of *France* was becoming justly formidable to all *Europe* ; and when it was the true Interest of the *united Provinces* to have
given

given a seasonable Check to the growing Greatness of so terrible a Neighbour, by a Conjunction with *Spain* ; but He suffer'd Himself and his Country to be deluded by *false, and repeated Professions of Friendship*, without one visible Proof of it, 'till the Designs of *France* were ripe for Execution ; and their Arms broke in, like an Inundation, upon the *low Countries* ; and (what ought never to be forgotten) this notorious Violation of *Faith, Alliances*, and the most *solemn Declarations*, was perpetrated without any other Provocation or Pretence, than that *his most christian Majesty was not pleased with some Part of their Conduct*.

It must be confessed, that many considerable Persons in the State had early Views of the mischievous Projects of the *French Court* ; and endeavoured, notwithstanding Success, to apprise their Countrymen of the impending Danger. But the *Pensionary* was so far from paying any Regard to the *Voice of the People* (whom He always *despised*, knowing *where his great Strength lay*) that He AVAIL'D HIMSELF of their just Apprehensions, and endeavoured to rivet his Interest with *that Court*, by his easy and complaisant Conviction of *their Sincerity*, and the *unreasonable Jealousy* of their Neighbours ; for we find the *French King* expressing Himself to his *Ambassador* in these Terms.

“ I am very glad the *Sieur DE WIT* is sensible,
 “ and sees so plainly (by your discovering to Him my
 “ most secret Thoughts and Intentions on the Propo-
 “ sals, which have been made Him) that I am not so
 “ dangerous a Neighbour, nor a Prince so immoderate-
 “ ly ambitious, nor so covetous of another's Terri-
 “ tories, as my Enemies have published with odious
 “ Exaggerations, to create every where a Jealousy of
 “ my Power.”

The *Sieur DE WIT* was no sooner convinc'd Himself, than He made it his Business to possess his Countrymen with the same Sentiments, by diverting their
 their

their Fears to *another Object*; and the *Emperor of Germany* being too weak at that Time to be made the *Bugbear*, He insinuated the Danger of being over-run by the *Turks*; as appears from the following Passage in one of *D'Estrades* Letters; where He says that “*DE WIT* told the Deputies, He could not but be apprehensive that, in a little Time, their Country would have a *barbarous Nation* for their Borderers, whose Power was so great, that the State would not be able to resist it.

He therefore proposed to enter into a *defensive League* with *France*, as the best provisional Security against all dangerous Designs of the *Turks*; but as these Suggestions, though very industriously propagated, were not supported by any *outward Appearances*, but only by Pretences of *undoubted, secret Intelligence*, and *strong Asseverations* of *DE WIT* and his Party, they gained no Credit, but were look'd on as a palpable Cheat and Pretext to cover an *odious Alliance*, which was so universally against the Bent of the People, that *this Minister* was not able, by all his Artifices, to reconcile them to it. Accordingly we find *D'Estrades* says, “We are not look'd upon here as *Friends*, but are declaimed against at an horrible Rate. I cannot enough describe to you how we are rail'd at here.

But however They were rail'd at, and exclaim'd against by the People in general, the *Pensionary* had instill'd more favourable Sentiments of them into the Deputies, who were ready to come into all his Proposals, as appears from the two following Passages in the *Ambassador's Letters*.

“The *States* would certainly have received your Majesty's *Declaration* with more Joy than they did, but *Monsieur De Wit*, who prepares Mens Minds to take Things in a *good Sense*, and shews them to be for the *Advantage of the State*, is not now here.

In the next Letter it appears that the *Pensionary* was present; for *D'Estrades* tells his Master,

“I can

“ I can assure your Majesty, that you are in such
 “ Consideration here, that They have resolved, this
 “ Morning, to form no *important Design* in the Af-
 “ fairs, which may happen to them, without first con-
 “ sulting your Majesty.

This Management of *De Wit*, in bringing his Coun-
 try into such an absolute Dependance on the *French*
Court, was so acceptable a Service, that the King, in a
 Letter to his *Minister*, expressed his Desire of *having*
the Means put into his Hands, to give Him some effec-
tual Marks of his Esteem and Affection. Accordingly
 He commands his *Minister* to declare, “ that He had
 “ sent positive Orders, if *De Wit* thought proper, ei-
 “ ther for his *greater Security*, or the better and sooner
 “ to disperse the *Cabals* forming against Him, that the
 “ *Ambassador* should do Him any good Office in his
 “ Name with the *States*; to favour the *Pensionary*;
 “ to praise his *Merit* and *Servites*; and let them know
 “ how much his *most christian Majesty* thought it for
 “ their Advantage to *continue the Trust* They put in
 “ Him; or if *his* (the *Pensionary's*) Name was not
 “ thought proper to be mentioned, then the *Ambas-*
 “ *fador* was to inform them, that the *King* had a
 “ great Esteem for the PRESENT MINISTRY;
 “ which seemed to his Majesty to be the best, and the
 “ most conducive to the Safety and Preservation of
 “ the State; that, as their *good Friend* and *Ally*, and
 “ one so much concerned in their *good Conduct*, He
 “ exhorted them vigorously to oppose the *Intrigues*,
 “ which were too well known to be carried on in the
 “ *Provinces*, to change the *Administration*; and his
 “ Majesty did it the rather; for that, if Things should
 “ so happen, He could no longer have the SAME
 “ CONFIDENCE in them, because *their Ene-*
 “ *mies* would be then *Masters*, and HE could expect no
 “ GOOD from them.

The *Pensionary* judged this *Recommendation* to be
 not only seasonable, but a necessary Expedient at that
 Time;

Time ; and expressed Himself very sensible of his Majesty's Favour, and to desire nothing so much as an Opportunity to shew his Gratitude by some Service.

And I think it evident, that He wanted neither Opportunity nor Inclination to demonstrate the Sincerity of his Professions. He was now become perfectly French. Every Advice, every Direction from *that Court* was received with implicit Observance ; and the *Ambassador*, in Return, put on an outward Appearance of the tenderest Concern for so *valuable a Friend*. He often expresses his Fears for his Safety. Sometimes the *Spanish* Intrigues give Him terrible Apprehensions ; for He says, “ *De Wit* having advanced far
“ in the Business, without much Communication, and
“ having had the Boldness to do it of Himself, and
“ without Order, He fears the *Spanish Ambassador*
“ will make *fine Work* of it.

Sometimes *domestick Enemies* give Him the same Uneasiness ; for, says He, “ *De Wit* perceives that if
“ the *Treaty proposed* does not go forwards, He is not
“ strong enough alone to maintain his *Party* against
“ the *Cabals*, which are forming to destroy it.

At other Times, He is apprehensive of the *Penssary's* Want of Skill ; and complains that “ he abounds
“ in his *own Understanding* ; and not knowing any
“ thing of *War*, and being fond of doing every Thing
“ Himself, He too easily gives into *Proposals* that are
“ made to Him ; and by *This*, I perceive, that He
“ loses his Credit.

Much more might be extracted from the *above-mentioned Letters*, to shew the absolute Prevalence of *French Counsels* over *this Minister* ; and, through Him, over his *unhappy Country* ; but I believe what hath been quoted will be thought sufficient. Better had it been both for Him and the *Commonwealth*, had He treated the Professions and Artifices of *France* with that Penetration and Integrity, for which He hath been celebrated ; tho' I think it is clear from the *Authority*,
which

which I have produced, that He must have been intirely destitute of *one*, if not of *both*; for otherwise He would never have entered into such Measures for nursing up a *Power*, which, at once forgetting all *Engagements* and *Obligations*, in a most faithless and unprecedented Manner attempted the total Destruction of his *Country*, and thereby worked up the Populace to such implacable Rage, as ended in that dreadful and well-known Tragedy upon *himself* and his *Brother*.

Here, Mr. *D'Anvers*, my Letter should have concluded, did I not think it necessary to obviate a Reflection, which some of your *little, captious Adversaries* may be ready to make. As I am very confident that They cannot falsify the Account, which I have given of *this Minister* and his *ruinous Politicks*; so I plainly foresee that, according to Custom, They will have recourse to invidious Interpretations of my Meaning; and charge me with a Design of insinuating that *all Men in Power*, who pursue the same *destructive Measures*, ought to meet with the *same Fate*; whereas I assure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I am so far from having any such Intention, that no Body can have a greater Abhorrence of such outrageous and unwarrantable Methods of Resentment. I will not dissemble my constant Opinion, that the Welfare of a whole Community is infinitely preferable to the Safety of *any single Minister*; and therefore no Punishment can be too severe for a *Minister*, who betrays his Country in this infamous Manner; but I think every Man, who wishes well to the Cause of *Liberty*, ought to detest all irregular and tumultuary Violence; because the Generality of Mankind are as prone to *Compassion*, as they are eager in *Resentment*; for which Reason it often happens, that when a *wicked Man* is taken off by *Assassination*, the Memory of his *ill Deeds* is obliterated by the *unjustifiable Nature of his Punishment*. This may, perhaps, be the Case of the *great Minister* under our present Consideration; for I cannot help thinking, that

if *De Wit* had suffered by a legal and judicial Sentence, He would have been generally mentioned in History as a *Traytor*, not a *Friend to his Country*.

But however I may differ from some Persons, in my Opinion of *this Minister*; I have the Consolation to reflect, that I cannot be charged with traducing his Memory upon *Jacobite Principles*; for if it should be still maintain'd, that He was a *Friend to his Country*; I am sure it cannot be denied, that He was the most profess'd and inveterate Enemy to that *immortal Prince*, who was the Deliverer of his *own Country*, as well as of *this Nation*, and left us that invaluable Legacy of the *Protestant Succession*, in his Majesty's most illustrious House.

I am, S I R, &c.

A. O.

W. RALEIGH.



N^o 143. SATURDAY, *March 29, 1729.*



WE learn from *Tacitus* that the *Romans*, under their *Emperors*, had a Sort of Engines of Government, which they called *Instrumenta Regni*; that is, in plain *English*, *Court Tools*, or *Implements of State*. The Business of these Wretches was to give *Information*, *accuse* and *suborn Evidence*; or, when Occasion required, to *cut a Throat* privately, or administer a *Dose of Poison*. I wish I could congratulate the *present Age* upon the Extinction of this execrable Race of Men, who still abound in all *arbitrary Courts*; and I am afraid that even this *Land of Liberty* (this *happy and envied Nation*) is not intirely

ly free from them. I am certain, at least, that in *some Reigns* They have been encouraged, and could mention several eminent and notorious Jobs, which They have performed; not to insist upon any *suspicious Deaths*; such as That of the Earl of *Essex*, in King *Charles the second's* Reign, and some other seasonable, tho' unaccountable, Accidents of a much *later Date*.

But the Business of this Paper shall be to describe another Sort of *political Tools*, not quite so disreputable indeed, though equally pernicious to the Welfare of the Commonwealth.

Foremost in this List stands the sordid, abandon'd Wretch, who prostitutes Himself for Hire in *publick Assemblies*, and conforms his Conscience to the Nod of a *Man in Power*, for a *Place*, a *Pension*, or a *Bribe*. When Affairs of the greatest Importance are under Deliberation, a Tool of *this Sort* considers only what is most agreeable to the Will, or most conducive to the Interest and Safety of his *Patron*, without shewing any Regard for the Honour of his *Prince*, or the Prosperity of his *Country*. It is true indeed, that several well-meaning Men have been led into the bad Measures of a *Minister* by old Prejudices, and Attachments to a *Party*; or by too much Credulity and Dependance upon *others*; or by Want of Experience, Misapprehension, and Error of Judgment. But such Men are rather *Properties* than *Tools*, and may be easily distinguished from those *venal, suborn'd Instruments*, who plunge through thick and thin at the Word of Command, against the manifest Light of their Eyes, the strongest Checks of their Consciences, and the fullest Conviction of their Understandings. They are constant Enemies to all *Enquiries*, and as constant Advocates for all *Taxes and Impositions*. If They have the Talent of *Speaking*, They expect double Wages, as They think Themselves able to do double Mischief. When They cannot *defend*, They *apologize*; and endeavour to extenuate the most notori-

ous Blunders and Mismanagements. They boast of *Plenty* and *flourishing Circumstances*, in the Midst of *extreme Poverty* and *Distress*. They wilfully misrepresent the Reasonings of their Adversaries, and then very glibly argue upon their *own Misrepresentations*. They assert *Falshoods* with the utmost Confidence, and persist in them without any Marks of Shame and Confusion, after they have been demonstrated to be such. In short, They are meer *Engines, Machines, or Puppets of Government*, who speak and act just as the *Master* behind the Scenes is pleased to give them Language and Motion, to serve his own Designs.

Another Species of these *Instruments of State* is That of *Spies, or Informers*; who, like our modern *Excisemen*, receive a small yearly Stipend for visiting all *Coffee-houses, Clubs, Ordinaries, Assemblies*, and other Places of *publick Resort*, and making a regular Report of what They hear and observe. They have *Supervisors* set over them, like the *Officers* before-mention'd, whose Business it is to take Care that they perform their Duty, according to the Rules prescrib'd to them; and *Those*, who are found to be diligent and faithful in their Vocation, are invest'd with a *Commission* to contract Acquaintance with *Malecontents*; to enter into Conversation with them upon the most *popular Points*; and even to condemn and inveigh against the *current Measures*, in order to pump out the Sentiments of *others*; especially in Times of *Difficulty*, or when any great *Schemes or Projects* are in Agitation. That deep Politician Mr. KER, of *Kersland*, hath oblig'd us with the Copy of a *Commission*, which He obtained from Queen *Anne*, to engage with the Enemies of her Government in *Scotland*; and I have been lately favour'd with a *Licence*, of the same Nature, from a *Premier Minister* (I suppose WOLSEY) to one of these *itinerant Agents*. It was found amongst some curious *Manuscripts* of a *political Antiquarian* lately deceas'd, and runs in these remarkable Words.

FOrasmuch as this Realme abotundeth with turbulent and devilish Spirits, which presume to malign ME and MY KING, in a most insolent and traiterous Manner, to the great Annoyance of Us and our Government; and whereas we are fully apprised of the Fidelitie and Sedulitie of our trusty and well-beloved * * * * * we do hereby authorise and appoint Him to be one of our chief Spies and Intelligencers, for the Cities of London and Westminster, with full Power to confer with the Enemies of our Administration; and, in Case of Necessitie, to join with them in their Clamours and Complaints, in order to gain a true Knowledge of their evil Counsels and Designs; for which This shall be his sufficient Warrant and Indemnitie.

* * * * *

These minor Ministers are of late commonly called *Lions*, because They go about, seeking whom They may devour; but I hope They do not meet with that Encouragement, which They have found under some former Administrations, and in some other Countries; nor can I indeed prove that we have had one of them in England, regularly licens'd and commission'd, since the Instance of Mr. Ker beforemention'd; but I believe the Town was never more infested with *Volunteers*, who endeavour to recommend themselves to Favour, by betraying their Fellow creatures in this infamous Manner; and they have better Opportunities to do it than the *Informers of old*, or Those in other Countries, because our Inheritance of *Liberty* makes us naturally more unreserved, and communicative in our Discourse, than the People under arbitrary Governments; and the Places of Resort are more publick and common. I may therefore take an Opportunity to give my Readers some Cautions for conversing in Publick, and point out some Marks, by which they will

be able to discover these *political Lions* in human Shapes. — I shall only, at present, forwarn the Gentlemen of the *Græcian* of several *Savages* of this Sort, who lye in wait for them every Night; and advise my Friends of the *Jamaica*, and other *trading Coffee-houses* in the City, not to suffer any *South-Sea Lions* to prey upon them.

The last Kind of *State Implements*, which I shall mention in this Paper, is That of *Court-Writers*; by which I would not be understood to mean, either Gentlemen of the *Court*, who condescend to become *Authors themselves*; or *all Persons*, who write in Vindication of the *Court*; but only *Those*, who prostitute their Pens, in a servile Manner, to *make their Court to Men in Authority*. The Terms, *Court-Poets* and *Court-Preachers*, have always been used in this Sense; but I was willing to define my Meaning, because I have been already misunderstood in the *same Expression*.

When a Controversy arises about the Conduct of *political Affairs*, it is too common for Those, who are concerned in the Debate, to reproach each other with *Venality* and *self-interested Views*. Those, who engage themselves on the Side of *Power*, never forget to suggest that their Adversaries are prompted to oppose them by *Revenge*, *Disappointment*, and *Ambition*; by the Hopes of supplanting the *present Ministers*, and getting Possession of their *Places themselves*. The Combatants on the *other Side* are apt to retort, with some Reason I think, that those Persons ought more justly to be suspected of *mercenary Views*, who chuse (perhaps, against the general Sense of the Nation) to enter the Lists for *Men*, who have *present Rewards* and *Preferments* in their Hands. Whether the Parties concerned are Men in *necessitous Circumstances*, or *such as want Nothing, which the most powerful of this World can give them*, is of no Validity to the *Argument*, or the Cause of *Truth*. It was never main-
tain'd,

tain'd, I think, that the *extremest Necessity* is any Excuse for acting against *Honour*, or *Honesty*, or *Conscience*, though it often prevails upon Men to do it. On the other hand, if a *Person*, who rolls in *Affluence*, will suffer himself to be made a *Tool*, in Expectation of getting *something farther*; what Lengths can we suppose He would not run; what *Employment* would He not undertake, had it pleas'd G O D to throw the powerful Temptations of *Necessity* in his Way?

There are some Gentlemen, who affect to appear very calm and undisturb'd in their *publick Writings*; and yet indulge themselves in the most passionate, uncharitable, and unpolite Expressions in their *private Conversation*. They will complain, in the most pathetick Manner, of the least Intimation that They were themselves *set to Work*, though They evidently wrote from the very *Mouth of Authority*; and yet take the Liberty to charge *others*, in a clandestine Manner, with the most *infamous Motives and Designs*.

It is easy to distinguish one of these *authoriz'd Advocates* from those *officious Writers*, who are prompted by pure Zeal, or a Design perhaps of recommending themselves to future Encouragement. When the Tenor of a whole Book is evidently calculated for a *present Expedient*, and to prepare the Minds of the People for *Measures*, which are in Agitation; when the Author produces *secret Intelligence*, and even the Result of *private Conversation* between Ministers abroad, which He could not obtain without Communication with *Somebody in Authority*, and which He would not dare to have published *without Authority*; in such a Case, I think, we may venture to pronounce, without any Injustice, that He wrote by *Direction*, or was *set to Work*.

We have a remarkable Instance in History of a BISHOP, who submitted to this mean Employment; and from being a profess'd Enemy to all *ecclesiastical*

fiastical Discipline, and a zealous Advocate for civil Liberty, became the most sordid and prostitute Defender of arbitrary Power both in Church and State; I mean Parker, Bishop of Oxford; whom Mr. Echard justly calls a Time-server; and Dr. Burnet speaks thus of Him; it is Lampoon enough upon the Age that He is a Bishop; but it is a downright Reproach, that He is made the Champion of a Cause, which, if it is bad of itself, must suffer extremely by being in such Hands.
D.



N^o 144. SATURDAY, April 5, 1729.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



THE following Letter (which, with some others, fell into my Hands by pure Accident) is, in my Opinion, worthy the Perusal of every *Englishman*. It seems to have been written in the Beginning of Cardinal *de Richlieu's* Ministry, when those great Designs, which some Time afterwards render'd *France* so formidable to all its Neighbours, were but in *embrio*. The Author appears to have been a hearty Lover of *his Country*, and of course a mortal Enemy to *ours*; a Consequence, which must eternally hold good, while the Situation of the two Nations remains the same.

Letter

A Letter from Monsieur DE LA RUSE, Secretary to Cardinal Richlieu, to his Brother, Colonel of the Gens d'Arms of France.

Monsieur, my dearest Brother,

I Have, in my two last, acquainted you with the *Schemes*, which are now on foot, for retrieving the *Glory of France*, and raising it to a higher Pitch than ever. The sincere Joy you express, on this Occasion, can proceed from nothing but an unfeigned Regard and Love to your Country. It is owing to the same honest Cause, that you appear so anxious lest it should be in the Power of any of our Neighbours, particularly of *England*, to disturb us in the Execution of such well concerted Measures. *England*, indeed, is the most potent of all the Nations that surround us; and it is her Interest always to keep a watchful Eye upon our *Motions*. She has been our *Rival* in all Ages. She has more than once brought us to the Brink of Ruin; and if we had not artfully regained in the *Cabinet* what we lost in the *Field*, we must have been her Vassals long ago. But in order to compleat your Satisfaction, I will shew you how little Reason we have to dread her at present; and that the particular Points, upon which your Fears are grounded, ought not much to alarm you. I find the Number of the *English Ships of War*, and the undaunted Courage of their *Sailors* have made a very deep Impression upon your Mind. I grant you, the naval Power of *England* is, at present, vastly superior to That of *any other Nation*; and such as, in the Hands of *wise and able Ministers*, might keep all *Europe* in awe; but what harmless, tame Things the greatest of their Fleets are, while under the Direction of the *Gentlemen now at the Helm*, you may easily perceive. You need but reflect on their late Expeditions, particularly to *Cadiz*; how rashly undertaken? how foolishly concerted? And the Event, how

how much the Laughing-stock of all *Europe*, whom their vast and expensive Preparations had not a little affrighted a few Months before? Besides, to let you into a Secret, my Master the CARDINAL has, by his great Address, got a more absolute Command of their *Squadrons* than any, who sit at their *Council-Board*; and *Buckingham* himself orders them to be fitted out to Day, and to be recall'd to *Morrovo*, according to his *Eminency's* good Will and Pleasure. If a Man, without stepping out of his Closet, could burn the *English Ships*, and strike their Sailors dead, would not you think it a god-like Action, and that such a Person deserved well of *France*? Does not the CARDINAL do the same in effect, when it is in his Power to send their Fleets to loiter in such Parts of the World, where he is sure they can do no Manner of Prejudice to their Enemies; where their Ships must rot, and their Men die by Thousands? You must have observed yourself, that Matters have been so ordered, that their *Navy* has not been able to protect their *Trade*, nor of the least Service to their *Merchants*, whose rich Cargoes have been seized by their Enemy, sometimes in sight of their *Men of War*, and often within view of their *own Shore*.

To convince you how much their Fleet is at our Devotion, I need only mention the Case of Captain *Pennington*, who was sent last Summer with eight strong Ships to our Assistance against the *Spaniards*, a common Enemy to *Us* and the *English*; but *Pennington* and his Ships being ordered by *Buckingham* to observe the Commands of our *Admiral*, they were employed against the *French Protestants*, to block up *Rochel*; an Instance which, I believe, wants a Parallel in History.

I allow what you say next, that the *English* Subjects are generally richer than ours, which is another great Advantage on their side; but pray consider that they have, by their *aukward Politicks*, embroil'd themselves

selves with most of the Powers of *Europe*; and do you believe that we will extricate them for Nothing? No, they got into the Scrape very expeditiously, and with great Ease, as it is natural for some Sort of People to *blunder*; but you shall see what Time, and what immense Sums of Money it will cost them, to disentangle themselves. For my own Part, I am heartily glad their Pockets are so well furnished; for if I do not mistake, we shall pretty well ease them of their superfluous Coin, before they can bring their Affairs into a tolerable Posture; and to give them their due, they begin to be sensible that they are in an ugly Way; for they *bleed* very freely; and as we are their *Physicians*, I fancy we shall prescribe *Pblebotomy*, as long as the *Constitution* of the Patient can well bear it. But let me ask, how comes it to pass that the *English* are so much richer than other Nations? Is it not owing to their great and extensive *Trade*; and have they not wisely exasperated all those Nations, from which they drew the most beneficial Parts of their Commerce? Have not we nick'd the Opportunity, and supplanted them, in a great Measure? And can you think we shall stop, out of pure *good Nature* and *Civility* to them?

But what I am most surpriz'd at is, that you imagine the present *prime Minister* BUCKINGHAM can be of any Disservice to *our Measures*. Surely you must have but very slightly observed his *Conduct*, if you apprehend any Thing from him. What Interruption is he capable of giving to our Designs, whose Knowledge of *Business* is intirely confined to his own Country; who does not know *foreign Parts*, so much as in the *Map*? And, for our Comfort, this very Person is the *wisest* Man in the Administration. He never dared to trust a Man of *Sense*, any more than a *Quack* dares call in an *able Physician*, after he has brought a sick Man to the *last Extremity*. In order to keep himself at the Head of Affairs, he has been obliged to fill all Posts with his *own Creatures*; a Race of Mortals, whose

whose whole Merit consists in their being *related* to Him; and when the whole Clan of them have laid their Heads together, and club'd their Wits, you see that after all their *Deliberations, Shifts, and temporary Expedients*, they have made themselves and their Nation the Jest of all *Europe*. I am satisfied that, in any Conversation with *Foreigners*, you never heard the present *English Politicks* mentioned, without a Sneer. What you insist so much upon, *viz.* the *Boldness* of his Genius, and his commanding so absolutely in their *publick Assemblies*, is not much to the Purpose. You know his late Master King *James* hector'd his *Parliaments at home*, at the same Time that he was despised *abroad*; and this very Man, who bullies it so much in the *Administration*, is forced to sneak and truckle to a PRIEST, a FOREIGN PRIEST, and dares not stir a Step without his Leave. Besides, I am apt to think, that what you ascribe to the personal Character of the *Man*, ought to be placed to the Account of his *Offices and Employments*. Τὼ ἀρσυνεῖω ὑποτάσσεται πάλιν is good *Greek*; and if he had laid out his Money with as much Judgment *abroad*, as he has done at *home*, I don't know but the World might have had a much better Opinion of his *Abilities*, and he had never been esteemed, as he is now, the *Bubble of all the neighbouring Courts*. Upon the whole, you have nothing to fear from the present *prime Minister*, but that he should fall into Disgrace with his *Master*, or the *Parliament*. *France* must be a great Loser, whenever such an Accident happens; and we must employ all our Credit to keep *Him* and his *Tools* in the Management; for it is by *such Ministers* that we have always gained. I have the Pleasure to assure you farther, that we not only are intirely free from any Apprehensions of his *Abilities*; but have, by our Address, brought Him under such a *Dependance* upon us, that Necessity will oblige Him to exert all his *Abilities*, such as they are, in our Service. You cannot be ignorant, how general
the

the Expectation and Desire of the *English* People was, upon the Demise of their late Sovereign King *James the first*, that this *over-grown, engrossing Minister* would be displaced at least, if not call'd to a strict Account, for his late *Misconduct* and *Oppressions*. They founded their Hopes, not only on the personal Virtues and promising Qualifications of the *Prince*, who succeeded, but on the *insolent Treatment*, which He had Himself received from *this Minister*, and the *very bad Opinion*, which He was known to entertain of Him on many other Accounts. This rendered his Accession universally acceptable; for all Accounts agreed, that no *British King* ever ascended the Throne with such popular Acclamations, and repeated Marks of unfeigned Joy, throughout the whole Kingdom.

Buckingham immediately perceived Himself in the utmost Danger. His Features were all on a sudden disconcerted, and He bore the most visible Marks of Consternation in his Face. He saw very plainly, that the Violence of the People's Joy portended Him no Good; and therefore left no Stratagem untried to avoid their Resentment, by maintaining Himself in Power; but considering the Obstacles, which lay in his Way, it is more than probable that all his Artifices would have proved ineffectual, had not the *Cardinal* found it for the Interest of our Country to assist him in this Extremity. He was easily prevail'd on by the *English Ambassador*, then in *France*, not only to recommend the Continuance of the *same Ministry*, in his *Master's Name*, to the *new King*, and in such Terms as even border'd upon *menacing*; but craftily advised *Buckingham* to procure *private Letters* to be written from several Parts of *Europe*, and to lay them before his *Master*, as accidentally *intercepted*, signifying the dreadful Apprehensions, which *some States*, in Amity with *England*, lay under, from the Prospect of a *Change* in the Administration; and the sanguine Hopes, which

other Nations, who were supposed to bear the *English* no Good-will, entertained from *such an Alteration*. This Management, which might deceive the *wisest* Prince upon Earth, was intirely owing to the Politicks of the *Cardinal*, my Master, and proved so successful, that it laid *Buckingham* under the strongest Obligations; and will, I doubt not, be imitated by *future Politicians* in the same Distress.

Can it therefore be supposed, that a *Minister*, thus obliged, thus supported, and thus dependant on the Counsels of *France*, ought to give us any Apprehensions? Or, must not you have the Pleasure to agree with me that, in order to accomplish our Designs of aggrandizing our *own Country*, and reducing the Power of *England*, we need pray for nothing more than the Continuance of the *CARDINAL's Life*, and *BUCKINGHAM's Administration*?

R,

I am,

My dearest Brother, &c.

DE LA RUSE.



N^o 145. SATURDAY, *April 12, 1729.*To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

Mr. D'Anvers,



S you have embark'd yourself in the Cause of Trade, and our unfortunate *British Merchants*, I was somewhat surprized that you should not have taken any Notice of an Article from *Leghorn*, published in the *Daily Journal* of Friday, *March 21st*, which says, *that the Mermaid, John Trounce Master, was arrived there; but that, in her Passage, a French Man of War had taken out her Cargo, as also sixteen Turks and two Jews.*— I confess it is said, in the same Paragraph, *that if the Goods shall appear not to belong to the Tripolines, the right Owners may have them restored to them;* but This does not seem to give any Satisfaction to Persons concerned in Trade; for we may judge from the Case of our plunder'd Merchants in the *West-Indies*, what is to be expected from Applications of this Nature. I will suppose this Ship to have been partly, or even in whole laden with *Tripoline Goods*; yet the Question is, what Authority or Pretence a *French Man of War* could have to seize them. We should be glad to know whether there is any Article in the Treaty of *Hanover*, which restrains us from trading with all Powers, that shall happen not to be at Peace with *France*; or whether, supposing that any *English Men of War* had received Intelligence that a

French Merchant-ship was laden with *Spanish Goods*, whilst the *Spaniards* were at open Hostilities with us, both by *Sea* and *Land* (which is, I think no improbable Supposition) whether, I say, the Commanders of such Ships had any Power to make Prize of them.

Had this Ship been bound to *Tripoly* with *military Stores*, to be made use of against *France*, I grant that there would have been some Appearance of a Cause for intercepting them; though perhaps it would not have been altogether justifiable, even in that Case; but there does not seem to be the least Shadow of a Reason why we should not trade, or carry Goods for a People, with whom we are at *Peace*; especially if it be not contrary to *Treaties*, and does not affect the Interest of any of our *Allies*.

I think, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that you, or one of your Correspondents, reckoned the *Freight Trade* of the *Levant* and the *Mediterranean* amongst the Advantages, which result to us by our Possession of *Gibraltar*; and so it certainly ought to be; but if the *French*, or any other Power, should continue this Practice, and we think fit to allow or connive at it, that Fortress is of so much less Importance than we generally believed, and you have represented it.

I shall only add, that we seem to be under very peculiar Circumstances of Distress; if, amongst all our other Disadvantages, heavy Losses, and Interruptions in *Commerce*, we are not allowed to exercise even this small Branch of it; and if, whilst our *Enemies* refuse to come to any Accommodation with us, our *Allies* will not suffer us to enjoy the Fruits of *that Peace*, which we have been able to procure. It looks indeed, as if the Powers of *Europe*, both *Friends* and *Foes*, were confederated against us, and resolved to unite their Endeavours, to deprive us of all our *Trade* at once.

There is another very material Article of *foreign News* (mentioned in your Paper of the 29th of last Month) which deserves some Animadversion. The
Pro-

Proprietors of the *South-Sea Company* were informed by their *Sub-Governor*, about a Year ago, that they had received *insupportable Losses* by the Seizures of the *Spaniards*; which obliged their *Directors* to reduce their Interest, at once, to 4 per Cent; but they were flattered, at the same time, with Hopes that Care would be taken to procure them such *Reparation*, as would put their Affairs again into a flourishing Condition.

We have been often assured that the King of *Spain* obliged Himself, by the *Preliminaries*, to cause the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and all her Effects, to be immediately restored to the *Company's Agents*; but after above a Year's vain Expectation of This, and after the most punctual Observance of *our Stipulations* (by suffering the *Galleons*, and all their vast Treasure to return unmolested) we are told, at last, that the *Spaniards* continue the same Oppressions and Prevarications towards the *English*, at *La Vera Cruz*, and other Parts of the *West-Indies*, which they made use of before the Signing of *these Articles*. It is said indeed, that the Ship is actually delivered, and as much of her Treasure as had not been sent to Spain, or squander'd away by the Governor; that they had also put the *English* into Possession of the *South-Sea Company's* *Snows*; but they were forced to deposit the Money they had been valued at, in the King of Spain's *Coffers*; and that they refused to deliver any Effects due on Account of the *Negro Contract*; and also Debts due on Account of former annual Ships; pretending that the Order expressed only the *Prince Frederick* and her Cargo.— In short, that the *English* had remonstrated against these Proceedings, but doubted of any Success. It is to be fear'd that the Effects deliver'd are but *inconsiderable*; and perhaps the *Company* may find themselves obliged, as it hath been suggested, to sit down contented with the Restitution of an empty *Hulk*; for if these Advices should prove true, I confess it looks too much like it, and

affords but a melancholly Prospect to *all the other unhappy Sufferers* by the Depredations of the *Spaniards* for several Years past.

We have, it is true, his Majesty's gracious Assurance, that He will continue his royal Endeavours to obtain all reasonable Satisfaction for our *past Losses*, as well as Security for our *future Commerce*; but, in order to This, it is necessary to furnish his Majesty with a full and specifick Account of these Losses; and I think it particularly incumbent on the Proprietors of the *South Sea Company* to make a strict Enquiry into the *present Condition of their Affairs*; what their Losses in general (which are called *insupportable*) really are; whether they are *all* justly imputed to the *Spaniards*; and what Reasons They urge in Justification of these *Seizures*, and their *present Conduct*. I think such an Examination highly expedient on two Accounts; *first*, that we may not charge the *Spaniards* with more than we can support; and *secondly*, to prevent the Danger of *another precipitate Reduction* of our Interest, by trusting our Affairs too implicitly to the Management of *others*.

N. *I am, SIR, your humble Servant;*

CIVICUS.



SAEURDAY.

N^o 146. SATURDAY, *April 19,* 1729.To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq; *so called.**Friend Caleb,*

Y this Epistle thou mayest see that thy Fame hath reached to Places in this Land, far remote from the great City wherein thou dwellest; and as thy Writings are in some Things agreeable to Truth, so they are much read by *Friends* in these Parts; but as I apprehend that they are in some Particulars blameworthy, I shall deal plainly with thee concerning them.

Forasmuch as thou seemest to plead for a *Freedom of Debate*, and a *Liberty of the Press*, we approve thy so doing, and expect that thou wilt not, in this Matter, act as the Sons of Men too commonly do; which is to contend for *Liberty*, when they are *oppressed*, but not grant it to *others*, when they are in *Power*. I am also to inform thee, that we are much edified by many of thy Writings; because they seem to contain both a *literal* and a *figurative* Sense. This we are the more pleased with, because it has been the general Practice of *Friends*, ever since we were called to be a People.

Now as to the *Errors* we apprehend thou committest in thy Writings; it is apparent that thou dost endeavour to stir up *Wars* and *Fightings*; and blamest *Those*, who are of a *peaceable* and *quiet Disposition*. Herein thou lookest *outwards*, and seemest too much to depend upon the *Arm of Flesh*. Some of our *Friends* have had a Sight that the Times are coming, and even at hand, wherein those great Vessels, called
Min.

Men of War, shall be converted into *Ships of Peace*; and perhaps This is already in part accomplished. Oh, *Caleb*! I must here confess that my Bowels, and the Bowels of most of our *Friends*, yern after *Trade*; for without That, we can enjoy but few of the good Things of this World; and whom thinkest thou that the good Things of the World are intended for, but the *faithful Remnant*? Moreover, *Friends* think the *peaceable* and *quiet Temper*, so manifest in Men of *high Stations*, to be of *GREAT PRICE*, and do believe that these are the Times, in which many ancient Prophecies shall be fulfilled. Manifest it is, that our Nation of late hath hardly lifted up the *Sword*; and many Instances could I give, that they have not for some time *learned any more the Art of War*. I tell thee, *Caleb*, we believe These are the Times long since foretold, in which *Kings shall be nursing Fathers*; which surely is much better than delighting in *War*, and being *Men of Blood*. Oh, *Caleb*! If thou wert as conversant in sacred Writ, as thou seemest to be in prophane Writings, thou wouldst know that the *great Men*, thou complainest of, do well in giving any Man, who asks for their *Coats*, their *Cloaks* also; and a Rumor hath reached our Ears, that they are about so to do; but mistake me not here; for I mean not literally the *CLOAKS*, with which they *cover themselves*; no, Those are too *necessary* to them. Here thou hast Occasion for thy *spiritual Spectacles*. He that can read, let him read. What remains, but to assure thee, that my Desires and the Breathings of *Friends* are, that the Eyes of thy *inward Man* may be enlighten'd; and that thou mayest become more and more serviceable in thy Generation? Farewel.

R. HEZEKIAH FRIENDLIMAN.

From Beverly in Yorkshire (the Place of my outward Habitation) the 11th Day of the 1st Month called March, in the Year 1728.

SATURDAY.

N^o 147. SATURDAY, April 26, 1725.

Visam BRITANNOS Hospitibus feros. HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'Anvers,



HAVE often thought that too much Care cannot be taken in fixing the *Character* of a Nation ; for the *Temper* and *Manners* of a People change as much as their *Habit*, *Dress*, and *Entertainment*. Our Neighbours, the *French*, have long past in the World for a *gay, unthinking People*; and yet substantial Proofs are not wanting to convince the Inhabitants of *this Island*, that they are a very *wise, politick* and *artful Nation*. We ourselves have been represented as guilty of *ill Nature*, not very distant from *Cruelty*. *HORACE's* Character of us hath establish'd our Reputation for *Incivility* and *Moroseness to Foreigners*; and, since his Time, the Historians and Poets of all the Nations round us have spared no Pains to fix the Scandal upon us. The *French* Authors, in particular, seldom fail to mention us as a *fierce, intractable* Sort of People, intirely void of that *Politeness* and *good-Manners*, which ought to be inviolably observed by all civilized Countries in their Transactions with one another. But what I am most surprized at is, that in those Reigns, which we admire the most, and never mention without Triumph, they represent our *Civility* as at the lowest Ebb; for
it

it seems this *national Character* is not equally applicable to us at all Times. In the Reigns of *Edward III.* and *Henry V.* our *Brutality* was come to a great Height. During the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, we were quite insupportable. It was but a Word and a Blow to every Body, that stood in our Way. All the Days of King *James I.* we were pretty *civil* and *obliging*. In the *next Reign* we discharged all our Fury upon one another; but, in the Opinion of these worthy Gentlemen, we never deserved the Title of a *polite Nation* till after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and we continued so all his and the *next Reign*. At the *Revolution* we relapsed again into our *natural Ferocity* and *Surliness*, and never recovered of it, until about the *ninth Year* of her Majesty *Q. Anne*. This *past Prospect* (to use the Words of a *celebrated Writer*) of our *good Manners*, with Respect to our *Neighbours*, is not much to our Advantage; and for that Reason I shall dwell no longer upon it, but turn my Thoughts to our *present Reputation* in the World as to this Point.

And here I can observe with Pleasure that our *Politeness* never appeared in a more singular Light than at present. I hope to make This evident to every one, who will take the Pains to reflect upon our Conduct and Behaviour, both to our *Allies* and *Enemies*, ever since the *Treaty of Vienna*.

It is well known what Mischiefs we apprehended from that *Treaty*; and how solemnly we were assured of its being levell'd against our *most valuable Interests*. On such Occasions it was usual for the *English Nation* to shew their Resentments betimes, and to distress their Adversaries by *Sea* and *Land*; but now we are *civilized*, and the Roughness of our *Tempers* is a little *polished*, you may observe with what *Decency* and *Softness* we use our *Enemies*, and how scrupulously We have avoided the *brutal* and *cruel* Behaviour of our Forefathers; insomuch that a great many honest, well-meaning

meaning Gentlemen have been strangely puzzled to know whether we were at *War* or in *Peace*, for these *three last Years* ; and, to tell the Truth, much may be said on both Sides. This I am sure of, that the Precautions we took against so formidable an *Alliance* shewed all the *Coolness* and *good Manners* in the World. We began with entering into an Alliance with FRANCE ; which is certainly the most *courteous*, *complaisant* Nation in the World. After laying our Heads together, it was thought proper to be very cautious of exasperating our *Enemies* too much ; and therefore we did not attempt to do any more than stop the Money, which they expected from the *West-Indies*, for some Time. The Squadron, we sent thither, had the *best natured* and most *complaisant Instructions*, that any Squadron ever had from the Beginning of the World to this Day ; and all the *Measures* we took, in our Defence, were not only *just*, *prudent* and *necessary*, but perfectly *gentleman-like* and *well-bred*. Nay, we chose to suffer many Inconveniencies ourselves, rather than give the *Spaniards* any Reason to complain of *severe Usage*.

Gentlemen of the *Marine* (and particularly *British Seamen*) are apt to be somewhat rough and boisterous, like the *Element* they live upon ; which renders it very expedient to qualify the natural *Fierceness* and *Impetuosity* of their Tempers by *prudent Restrictions*. For this Reason, the Commanders of our Squadrons, in the *West-Indies*, were ordered to use all the civil Arts of PERSUASION, before they had Recourse to their usual military Rhetorick of *great Guns*. It is well known that Admiral HOSIER was very angry to find Himself curb'd in this Manner, and express'd his Sentiments upon it very freely, at *Jamaica*, before He died. But as gallant a Man as He was, it cannot be denied that He had too much of the *Tar* in Him. He was not *civiliz'd* enough for such an Employment ; and nobody can tell what *Mischief* He might have done

done to the *Spaniards*, had He not been prevented by those *wise Limitations*.

There are indeed some malicious People, who insist upon it that the *blocking up* of their Fleet at *Porto Bello* was but a harsh Way of Proceeding, if not an Act of *open Hostility*; and, in order to prove This, they quote those two noted Civilians, *Puffendorf* and *Grotius*; not considering that *one* of these Authors was a *Swede*, and the *other* a *Dutchman*; and consequently whatever they say is no more to be regarded by a *polite Nation*, than the Decision of a *Porter* in a Dispute betwixt *two Beaus* at *White's*; but granting that This was a little *uncivil*, yet by our subsequent Conduct I am sure we made them ample Amends; for after they had *landed* their Money and other Effects, and tho' taking their *empty Ships* into our Custody (which we could have done with the greatest Ease) might have answer'd in the best Manner the End, for which our Fleet was sent into these Parts, we order'd our Admiral to lie by them for above a Twelvemonth in the most unwholsome Climate perhaps in the World; and lost near 4000 Men rather than do a *rude Thing*; a Piece of *Civility*, which no Nation on the Face of the Earth can boast of besides ourselves; but to convince you that This was no trifling Favour we shew'd the *Spaniards*, and that it is of much greater Moment than appears at first Sight; consider a little what would have been the Consequence, if we had taken these *relinquisb'd Vessels* into our Possession, and left a Place, where the Malignity of the Air is shunn'd even by the *Spaniards* themselves; and you will easily perceive that, besides saving the Lives of so many valuable Subjects, we should have had Time enough to have stopt their *Flotilla* at *Vera Cruz*; and This indeed would have effectually prevented the Return of the so-much-dreaded Treasure into *Europe*. But then I must own, it would have been very *cruel* and *barbarous* Usage towards the King of *Spain*, to have kept him so
long

long out of his Money. He could not have paid his *Army*; nor supported his *Household*, which we have been assured were very much in *Arrear*; nor remitted the stipulated Supplies to the *Emperor*; and for any Nation to reduce a Person of his *Catholick Majesty's* Figure and Quality to so great an Extremity; or to put it out of his Power to pay his *Debts of Honour*, would have been highly unbecoming. Since therefore we were about to oblige him, I think it was extremely well judg'd, to let him have the *Flotilla* home rather than the *Galleons*. Twenty five Millions of Pieces of Eight, every Body must acknowledge, is a much handsomer Sum than eighteen Millions. I am not at all concern'd at what the *Jacobites* and *Malecontents* say on this Subject. It is well known that they are Enemies to their Country, and envious of its Glory, under the present most excellent Administration. A plain Proof of This is their Attempt to rob us of the Reputation of such civil Doings, by their perverse Constructions. They have the Impudence, some of them, to say that it is plain from the Instructions, given to our Admiral, that whoever drew them up did not know the Difference betwixt the *Flotilla* and *Galleons*; or that they sail'd from two Ports, at a very great Distance from each other. But can it be imagined that our Superiors are ignorant of what every Merchant upon Change, and every little Stockjobber in the *Alley* knows? — Others of them are yet more bold, and do not scruple to assert that we had the Assistance of our Allies, in drawing up these favourable, persuasive Instructions; and that Care was taken to chuse such Expressions, as would put it out of our Admiral's Power to do any great Damage to the Enemy. It is very easy to answer all This, by assuring the World that these invidious Comments on our Conduct proceed from a Spirit of Malice, Revenge, and Disappointment; and that there is not a Word of

Truth in them ; at least I am resolved, for several good Reasons, to give no other Reply to them at present.

Now I have mentioned our *Allies*, I must not omit another Instance of our *Civility* to the *Spaniards*. It is well known that the *French* had above *double the Quantity of Money and Goods* on board this *Fleet*, that we had ; and as we were in *Alliance* with them, some shallow Politicians expected that they should send an equal Number of Ships into the *West-Indies* ; or, as it was a *common Cause*, and they had at least as much to fear from the Return of *this Treasure* into *Europe* as we, they should have paid us their *Quota* of the Charges in Money, if they were not fond of sending that fine Fleet to rot at the *Bastimentos*, which has since made so glorious a Figure in the *Mediterranean*, and play'd the Devil with the People of *Tripoli*. Now I am of Opinion that This has been managed with great Address ; for if we had insisted on such Points, it would have carried Matters farther against *Spain*, and might have prevented the Return of the *Flotilla*, as well as of the *Galleons* ; and if we could give so remarkable a Proof of our *Temper*, and avoid driving the *Spaniards* to despair, and at the same Time oblige so good a *Friend* and so faithful an *Ally*, I think we acted like a wise and generous People. The Truth is, we ought to be very cautious of exposing the *French Fleet* to any Accidents and Inconveniencies. I wish Gentlemen would consider that the naval Power of *France* was, towards the End of the last Century, almost equal to our own ; and that it was chiefly owing to the *English Squadrons* that it was then so entirely destroy'd ; and since they have, by incredible Pains and Application, begun to shew themselves at Sea again, I think they ought to be encouraged, and (however they may be obliged by *Treaties* to do it) we ought not to insist on their running all the *Risques*, and executing the same dangerous *Enterprizes* as we do, in order to make them
amends

amends for our *rough Usage* formerly. For my own Part, I am not ashamed to own (however odd it may appear to the *Enemies of the Ministry*) that I was glad to find our News-Papers fill'd with such handsome Accounts of the Squadrons of our *good Allies*. It is now almost two Years ago that, by a most extraordinary Course of Navigation, they put into the Bay of *Cadiz*, in their Way from *Toulon* to *Tripoli*; which, at that Time, occasioned a good deal of Speculation to all the Courts of *Europe*, except *ours*. The *Spaniards* indeed have not thought fit to shew much of their *good Manners* to us of late; unless you will allow of the old Proverb, *what is done to my Friend is done to myself*; and then we have no Reason to complain of them. They have been excessively *civil* to us this Way; for our *Allies* enter'd their Bay with that *Fleet*, without the Ceremony of asking Leave; and by the whole Behaviour of the *two Nations* to one another, one would have believed that *France* was in the closest Alliance with *Spain*, and not engaged in one against her. I have often wonder'd with myself, what we should have done, if the *French* had not been so good as to stand by us. Where could we have found an *Ally* so much esteem'd; I may say so dearly lov'd by our *Enemies*? And, on the other hand, to do ourselves Justice, where could *France* have found an *Ally*, who would have been so little suspicious of this Intimacy and Friendship; or, who would have fitted out Squadrons for their Service, without desiring them to bear any Part of the Expence? I must say This for the Honour of my Country, that none but a very *civilized* Nation could have forbore being a little jealous, and asking a few foolish Questions about his Excellency the Marquis d'O's Business at so critical a Time with twelve Ships of War, in an Enemy's Port; and That before the Treasure of the *Flotilla* was divided. But the *French* Nation is famous for keeping of *Treaties*; and their Friends and Enemies seem at this Time to

repose an equal Confidence in them; for we took no Umbrage at all that pass'd there, and now the Accident is quite forgot by every Body, except the *English Consul* at *Cadiz*; with whom they left a very good Token to remember it by.

I hope by this Time I have put it past a'l Doubt that ever since the *Vienna Alliance* we have behav'd ourselves with the greatest *Civility* and *Politeness*; more than I believe any Nation in the World ever shew'd in the like Circumstances; and that, allowing the Charge of these foreign Authors to be true, with respect to our Country, in former Times, such as the Reigns of *Harry* the 5th, *Q. Eliz.* &c. yet the *Barbarity* and *Rudeness* of our Fore-fathers ought to be entirely forgot by Those, who reap the Benefit of the *Politeness*, *Courtesie*, and refin'd *good Manners* of their Posterity.

To detain you no longer on this Subject.—I observed, at the Beginning of my Letter, that the *French* Authors have been most remarkable for branding us with *Incivility*; and it is not, I think, improbable that This may have been partly owing to the ill Choice of *Ambassadors*, whom we have formerly sent to *that Court*. But I have the Pleasure to conclude, with taking Notice that We have redeemed our Character in *this Respect*, as well as in *others*; since We have at present not only a very profound *Politician*, but one of the most compleat, accomplish'd *Gentlemen* of this Country to negotiate our Affairs at the *politest Court* in *Europe*.

I am, S I R, &c.

R.

POLITICK COURTLY.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'Anvers,

YOU obliged your Readers some Time since with the Speech of a *worthy Senator* against *Bribery* and *Corruption*. I have met with one, of a later Date,

Date, which, as it seems to have proceeded from a like honest Spirit, may not be unfit for your Consideration. I have ever thought it the most noble and useful Part of History to transmit to Posterity the Sentiments of *great Minds*, as they have been express'd by Themselves, in solemn Councils, upon the most important Occasions. They naturally tend to raise the same Thoughts in noble Breasts, and frequently animate them in like Exigencies; but without farther Preface it is submitted to your Judgment.

*A SPEECH of Sir CHARLES SIDLEY in the
Reign of the late King WILLIAM.*

Mr. Speaker,

“ WE have provided for the *Army*. We have
“ provided for the *Navy*; and now at last
“ a new Reckoning is brought upon us. We must
“ likewise provide for the *LISTS*. Truly, Mr.
“ Speaker, 'tis a sad Reflection, that *some Men* should
“ wallow in *Wealth* and *Places*, whilst *others* pay a-
“ way in *Taxes* the fourth Part of their Revenue, for
“ the Support of the same Government.

“ We are not upon equal Terms for his Majesty's
“ Service. The *Courtiers* and *great Officers* charge
“ as it were in *Armour*; and feel not the *Taxes*, by
“ Reason of their *Places*; whilst the *Country Gentle-*
“ *men* are shot through and through by them. The
“ *King* is pleas'd to lay his *Wants* before us; and I
“ am confident expects our Advice upon it. We
“ ought therefore to tell Him what *Pensions* are too
“ great; and what *Places* may be extinguish'd, during
“ the War and the *publick Calamity*.

“ His Majesty sees nothing but *Coaches and six*, and
“ *great Tables*; and therefore cannot imagine the
“ *Want and Misery* of the rest of his Subjects. He

“ is a *brave* and *generous Prince*; but He is a *young*
“ *King*, encompass’d and hemm’d in by a Company
“ of crafty old Courtiers. To say no more, some
“ have Places of 3000 l. some of 6000 l. others of
“ 8000 l. *per Annum*; and I am told the *Commis-*
“ *sioners of the Treasury* have 1600 l. *per Annum* each.
“ Certainly *publick Pensions*, whatever they have
“ been formerly, are much too great for the *present*
“ *Want and Calamity*, that reigns every where else;
“ and it is a Scandal that a *Government, so sick at Heart*
“ *as ours is, should look so well in the Face*. We must
“ save the King Money, wherever we can; for I am
“ afraid the War is too great for our Purfes, if Things
“ be not managed with all imaginable Thrift. When
“ the People of *England* see all Things are sav’d that
“ can be sav’d; that there are no *exorbitant Pensions*,
“ nor *unnecessary Salaries*; and all is applied to the
“ *Use*, for which it is given; we shall give, and they
“ shall pay whatever his Majesty can want to secure
“ the *Protestant Religion*, and to keep out the King
“ of *France*, and King *James* too—I conclude, Mr.
“ *Speaker*; let us *save* the King what we can, and
“ then let us proceed to *give* Him what we are able.

O:



SATURDAY,

N^o 148. SATURDAY, *May 3, 1729.*

MY Adversaries have often reproached me with taking too much *Liberty* in Writing; a Liberty, which is not to be parallel'd (as they endeavour to persuade the World) under any former *Administration*; whereas when I review the *State Tracts* of some preceding Reigns, which are generally allow'd to be *arbitrary*, I am equally surprized at the noble Boldness of *those Writers*, and the sordid Spirit of our *modern Advocates* for implicit *Faith* and *Subjection to Men in Power*.

I was lately favoured with a Pamphlet, printed in the Reign of King JAMES the *first* (intituled the *honest Informer*; or, *Tom Tell-Truth's Observations upon Abuses of Government; addressed to his Majesty*) in which not only the *Measures* of those Times are openly arraigned, but even the *Frailties* of the King Himself are very freely censured. Whether this Piece was *vended publickly*, doth not appear; but if it was only *privately dispersed* (as indeed seems most probable) it is a Proof of what hath been often observed, that no *Restraints* or *Discouragements* or *Penalties* can prevent a *free* and a *brave People* from expressing their *Thoughts*, when they apprehend their *Liberties* or the *Honour of their Country* to be in imminent Danger.

I design therefore to present the Reader, for this Day's Entertainment, with some Extracts, the least *personal*, from the Pamphlet before-mentioned; which

was,

was, no Doubt, look'd upon as a *Libel* at that Time ; though I believe every Body will be now convinced that the Author (whoever he was) wrote like an honest *Briton*, and with a laudable Intention to rescue his *Prince* out of the Hands of *ignorant* and *corrupt Ministers*.

May it please your Majesty,

“ SInce *They*, that have the Honour to appertain-
 “ unto You, have neither the Courage nor the
 “ Conscience to acquaint you with the fearful Discon-
 “ tents of the Times, but suffer you to lose your
 “ People’s Hearts so slightly, as if they were not
 “ worth the keeping ; I, a poor unknowne Subject,
 “ who never had the Happinesse to come neere your
 “ Majesty, but in the Throng, or to take any other
 “ Oath in your Service, than That of *Allegiance*, have
 “ adventured upon so much Forwardnesse, at this
 “ Time of Need, when all Places are indeed voyd
 “ (which *Covetousnesse* and *huge Ambition* seeme to
 “ fill) as to thrust my selfe into the *best Office* about
 “ You ; better than either *President of the Council*,
 “ or *Earle Marshal of England* ; viz. the noble Of-
 “ fice of *telling Truth* ; wherein, if Boldnesse makes
 “ me forfeit my Discretion, my Loyaltie, I hope,
 “ will begge my Pardon ; and the rather, because I
 “ persuade my self I am not altogether without War-
 “ rant for what I doe ; for it was my Dutie not long
 “ since to take Notice of *two Proclamations*, come
 “ out in your Majesty’s Name against *inordinate*
 “ *Talking* ; wherein it is your Majesty’s gracious Plea-
 “ sure to make all your loving Subjects, of what Con-
 “ dition soever, Instruments of State, by giving them
 “ not a bare, voluntary Power, but a *Subpœna*
 “ Charge and Commission to *informe* against all
 “ Those they shall hear, at any Time, to offend in that
 “ Kinde.

“ They

“ They make a Mock of the Word *Great-Britain*,
 “ and offer to prove that it is a great deale lesse than
 “ *little England* was wont to be ; lesse in *Reputation* ;
 “ lesse in *Strength* ; lesse in *Riches* ; lesse in all man-
 “ ner of *Vertues* ; and whatsoever else is required to
 “ make a State *great* and *happy*.

“ The general Current of Discontent, that runs
 “ with such a seditious Noise over the whole Kingdom,
 “ tho’ (Thanks be to God) it hath not made an open
 “ Breach upon your People’s *Obedience*, yet certainly
 “ hath weaken’d their *Affections*, which hath been
 “ ever held dangerous, and of so neer Neighbour-
 “ hood, as commonly there is no Way to prevent the
 “ one, without remedying the other.

“ The Sources, from whence it riseth, are two ;
 “ *Disorder at home*, and *Disshonour abroad*. For the
 “ *first*, I must confess, I am not so well read in the
 “ late Book of *Patents*, as that I can make any long
 “ Discourse upon that Subject ; and therefore will
 “ leave it to the *lower House of Parliament*, which is
 “ the true chrital Fountain, that will not only pre-
 “ sent to your Majesty’s View (as in a Mirrour) all the
 “ foul Spots of the Commonweal ; but serve you at
 “ the same Time with Water to wash them out.

“ But for the *other*, which toucheth more to the
 “ quick all generous Spirits, and so excells in Matters
 “ of Complaint as, (till it receive Redress) all other
 “ Clamours ought to hold their Peace, I dare pretend
 “ to know as much of it as any other, and perhaps
 “ more than comes to the Share of a *private Gentle-*
 “ *man* to know ; it having been of late, by I know
 “ not what Inclination of my Genius, not only the
 “ chosen Fruit of my outward Observation, but the
 “ very Nourishment of my sad and solitary Thoughts.
 “ If then your Majesty will give me Leave to execute
 “ my melancholy Office of *telling Truth*, and freely ad-
 “ vertise you what this *grand Grievance* is, that cries
 “ so loud for Reparation in all Voices and all Hearts ;
 “ it

“ it is a just Incensement of the *Decay of our Coun-*
 “ *try's Honour* ; a *Trade*, wherein we were wont to
 “ out-buy all our Neighbours, and make the great In-
 “ grosser of the *West-Indies* Himself Bankrupt. But
 “ it seems the Hand of Heaven hath thought good to
 “ curb our Felicity in this Point ; for we have lived
 “ to see that Stock of *foreign Reputation*, which that
 “ great *Queen* your Predecessor left us, quite vanished
 “ and brought to nothing ; and for acquiring of *new*,
 “ it is a Thing so long since grown out of Use, as
 “ that it may very well be ranked amongst those *other*
 “ *Inventions* we have lost through the Iniquities of
 “ the Times.

“ The old Compass of Honour is quite forgotten,
 “ and our *Pilots* now a-days have no other Course
 “ than That of their *own Fortunes* ; according to which
 “ They tack and untack all publick Affairs. No mar-
 “ vel then if we see the goodly Vessel of State mis-
 “ guided, and shamefully exposed to all Manner of
 “ Dangers ; sometimes by being run aground upon
 “ the Sands of *shallow and uncertain Policy* ; but most
 “ of all by being kept at *Anchor* (full as it is of *Leakes*
 “ and *rotten Ribs*) in the deep Gulf of *Security* ;
 “ where it takes in more Matter of Ruin and Corrup-
 “ tion in six Months than can be pumpt out again in
 “ seven Years. Nor can our *Statesmen* excuse their
 “ Negligence hereafter, with saying the *Wind* did
 “ not serve ; for never did Heaven blow more *favour-*
 “ *ably* to our Advantage than it hath done of late, had
 “ we the Grace to have fitted our Sails to the Fair-
 “ ness of the Occasion ; but there hath not been
 “ known what *Remora* hath hung a long Time upon
 “ this unfortunate State, and still continues of that
 “ prodigious Force, as, for aught I see (unless God
 “ in his Mercy put to his helping Hand) it will ra-
 “ ther sink us than suffer us to go forward in any
 “ Course, that tends to our Prosperity. In the mean
 “ Time, our *Adversaries* have Sea Room enough ;
 “ and

“ and *all is Fish that comes to their Nets.* It seems
 “ They have forbidden us, under Pain of their high
 “ Displeasure, to deal any more in Matters of *Worth,*
 “ and reserving to Themselves the *rich Prizes* and
 “ *Triumphs* of the Times, have thought it sufficient
 “ to *sheare our Sheep,* and fetch home *Spices* to make
 “ *Gingerbread.*

“ Not so much, but the very Pedlars in the *Low*
 “ *Countries,* whom We ourselves set up for our own
 “ Use, are now become our Masters in the *East In-*
 “ *dies,* and think Themselves our Fellowes on any
 “ Ground of Christendom.

“ Of all the Blessings, that descend from Heaven to
 “ Earth, there is none to be received with more
 “ Praise and Thankfulness than That of *Peace*; but
 “ a Man may have too much of his Father's Blessing;
 “ and I fear We have too much Cause to complaine
 “ of *unlimited Peace*; the Excesse whereof hath long
 “ since turned Virtue into Vice, and Health into Sick-
 “ nesse. As long as *other Princes* kept themselves
 “ within their Devoire, and followed your great Ex-
 “ ample, it was a Thing rather to be gloried in, than
 “ any way reproached, that your Majesty was known
 “ by the Name of *King of Peace* through Christen-
 “ dome; but now, that both our *sworne Enemies*
 “ and *forsworne Friends* have taken up Armes with
 “ one Consent, and as it were to defame your Ma-
 “ jesties Goodnesse, by enterprizing upon your *neerest*
 “ and *dearest* Interest in *forraigne Parts*; now, that
 “ there is Question of God's Glory, as well as your
 “ own, and the Cause of both your Children lies
 “ equally a bleeding; now, I say, to continue still
 “ the same, and still unmoved, as though you were
 “ *no King of this World,* but stood already possessed
 “ of the *Kingdome of Heaven,* by Vertue of *beati Pa-*
 “ *cifici*; This certainly is such a strange Piece of Su-
 “ pererogation, as will seeme to astonish this present
 “ Age, and That to come.

“ Pardon

“ Pardon me, O King, if I speak unto you in a
 “ Language you are not accustomed to heare; but its
 “ now no longer Time to blanch and palliate That,
 “ which all the World sees; for the *blazing Starre*
 “ was not more spectable in our Horizon, nor gave
 “ the People more Occasion of Talke. Heaven grant,
 “ it may not be the Cause of more Mischiefe, than
 “ the other was a Signe of. It is in your Majestie’s
 “ Power to take away our Feare at once, if you will
 “ at length know but your own Strength and take a
 “ Resolution worthy of your selfe.

“ The fundamental Engines of War, every one
 “ knowes, are two; *Men* and *Money*; and would to
 “ God your Majestie’s Dominions were as well stored
 “ with the *One*, as they are with the *Other*! Then
 “ should we not prostitute ourselves (as we doe) to
 “ the great Whoremaster of *Babylon*, and for a few
 “ Clods of his Earth give up the Honour of our
 “ Countrie, and violate the Honour we owe to Re-
 “ ligion. But his Knowledge of our Wants makes
 “ Him presume upon our Easiness, and allures us to
 “ this base and impious Adultery; though I verily be-
 “ leeve, in this present, He and his Bawdes will be
 “ much deceeved; for if you and your States, now
 “ assembled together, will tye the holy Knot of Uni-
 “ on, and make a firm Covenant each with other, we
 “ shall not need to goe so neer *Hell* for Gold as the
 “ *Spanish Mines*; or, if we doe, we will take a Course
 “ to have it, without the Helpe of the *Divel*. We
 “ shall be able well enough to supply your Majesty,
 “ for the Businesse in Hand, out of That, wherewith
 “ almighty God hath blessed us; only I must adver-
 “ tise your Majesty, that We expect to see an *Army*
 “ rais’d, as well as *Subsidies*; for if we be at the *Charge*
 “ of maintaining *Warre*, it is Reason we should par-
 “ take of the *Honour* and *Benefit* of it; especially
 “ when it is consider’d, how hardly we can spare
 “ *Money*, and how easily *Men*.

“ ——— *Comines, the Frenchman*, being in Discourse
 “ with an *Englishman* about the *Warres* our Nation
 “ had so often and with so good Successe made in
 “ *France*, discreetly said that almighty God had
 “ brought the *English* into *France* to punish them for
 “ their *Sinnes* ; and when the *Sinnes* of *England*
 “ should be greater than theirs of *France*, Hee would
 “ likewise send the *French* thither to scourge them ;
 “ and how willingly *that Nation* would embrace such
 “ an Employment, may easily be judged, whether
 “ We consider the old or new Causes of their *Ha-*
 “ *tred*. The Vertue of our *Ancestors* sticks still in
 “ their Stomachs ; and the true Profession of the *Gos-*
 “ *pel* enrages their Consciences.

“ Behold, Sir, as much as I am able to present,
 “ and perhaps more than I shall have Thanks for ; but
 “ That is the least Part of my Pretence. The Love
 “ to Truth and your Majestie’s Service deserves This
 “ and a great deale more of an honest Man ; and He,
 “ that seekes Reward for well-doeing, knowes not
 “ the true Value of a good Conscience. I shall be
 “ content to remaine *unknowne*, so be it I may make
 “ your Majesty know what *false* and *wicked Men*
 “ keepe from you ; the *Misfortune* of your Government
 “ and the *just Complaint* of your Subjects.

“ If I have offended your *Patience*, your Majesty
 “ may be pleased to consider how long *it* hath offend-
 “ ed all the World ; and, forgive me, let it not seeme
 “ strange, or ill in your Majesties Eyes, that I have
 “ used a few hearty Words in a Cause my Soule loves
 “ above all that is mortal ; and for the Advancement
 “ whereof I dare *suffer* as much as *They deserve*, who
 “ dissuade you from it. D.

N^o 149. SATURDAY, May 10, 1729.*Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris, & Carcere dignum.*

J U V.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



HOEVER has read *the Report of the Committee of the HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS*, concerning the many Frauds and Corruptions, notorious Plunderings and Exactions, arbitrary and tyrannical Insolences and Oppressions, Subornations, Extortions and inhuman Barbarities, by *Dungeons, Irons and Torture*, lately committed within the *Fleet Prison*; to the enslaving, ruining, and finally destroying many of the Subjects of this Kingdom; cannot but be warmed with a just and uncommon Indignation against those little Tyrants, the vile and merciless Managers of this amazing Scene of Iniquity; and, at the same Time, he cannot but have a Heart full of Praise and Gratitude towards those *worthy Patriots*, who have so carefully search'd out, so fully detected, and will, no doubt, as severely punish these high Crimes and horrible Misdemeanors, for a Terror to others, and to their own immortal Honour and Reputation.

It is evident, from this single glaring Instance, that notwithstanding the popular Exclamations of Liberty and Property! Peace and Plenty! good and glorious Times!

Times ! a great free, and flourishing Nation ! yet Tyranny and arbitrary Power, Oppression and Male-Administration may reign in a little Society in *Covert*, and secretly sculk in the very Heart of such a Nation, and at the very Gates of its Capital ; so that every Attempt to discover and expose any Encroachments or Corruptions of this Kind, is by no Means to be called *libelling the State* ; but, on the contrary, ought to be look'd on, as the genuine Issue of a publick Spirit ; and to be encourag'd as the Fruits and Produce of the Love of our Country.

Thomas Bambridge, Esq ; Warden and Guardian of a little Territory and unfortunate Set of People under his Power, (*Guardianus, sive Custos Prisonæ de la Flete* ; that is, *Keeper of the Liberties* of a small District in our great City, called the *Fleet*) Solicitor of Solicitors, and Counsellor of Counsellors ; Founder of Dungeons, and sole Inventor of the noble Manufacture of *Iron Bolts and Manacles*, commonly called *the King's Plate* ; to the Terror of all Debtors, and for the support of publick and national Credit ; *this Man*, I say, under all these great Names and Titles, may perhaps insist upon Privilege, and plead an Exemption from all *Enquiries* of one, so far beneath him in Station and Dignity. But for the sake of the Publick, I hope I am at Liberty to make some Reflections upon his Conduct ; and to justify the Proceedings of our *Representatives* against Him and his chief Ministers, *Barnes, Pindar, King and Everet*.

The *honourable Committee* do, with great Truth and Justice, impute the Abuses in the *Fleet* to the *Venality of the Warden's Office*. He buys of a *Lord*. His *Deputy*, or *Successor*, buys of *Him*. The *Underagents* buy of the *Deputy* ; and the *poor Subject* pays all. Here is a blessed Reformation indeed ; where *insolvent Debtors* become in an Instant the best of *Pay-masters* ; only they happen to pay in the wrong

Place, and to mistake their *new Keepers* for their *old Creditors*. The Antients had a very odd Law. They sold their *Debtors* into Slavery and took Money for them; but the wiser and more generous Moderns suffer a Stranger to take their Slaves *gratis*, and make the most of them; to the great Encouragement of *Trade and Commerce*. This *Venality of Offices*, that Sprout and genuine Fibre of the *Root of all Evil*, is very well observed to be the Parent of many Abuses; and if it happens to spoil a *Goal*, it cannot fail of doing some Mischief even in *Courts and Palaces*.

I can imagine this *great Minister*, Mr. B, summoning his Creatures and demanding Contributions for *Guards and Janizaries* — for *strong Rooms and Dungeons* — for *Irons and Manacles* — for *Musquets and Bayonets* — for *Tortures, Tipstaves and Spunging-Houses* — All indeed highly necessary for maintaining the Peace, and promoting the Welfare of his Vassals; but then closing the Whole with an Item *for reimbursing the Patent*; for unless This were done in the *current Year*, it would be full two long Years more before he could be worth 10000 l. and should the Industry of his Slaves, or the Charity of their Friends, be misapplied and diverted to improper Uses (such as the Payment of their *honest Creditors*, or their *just Fees*) some of them might perhaps run a madding after *Liberty* and meditate a decent Escape out of his Dominions.

Tho' the *Committee* apprehend that, upon putting down the *Star-Chamber*, in the Reign of King *Charles 1st*, no *Warden* could pretend to take Fees of *Archbishops, Bishops, temporal Peers, or Barons*; or to put them in *Irons*, or exact Fees for not doing so; yet the Patent of King *Charles II* reciting that of Queen *Elizabeth*, has a Table annex'd of all the Fees payable, by those high Orders of Quality, to the high and mighty *Warden, for the Liberty of the House and Irons*;

Irons; and no doubt Mr. B. insisted on this latter Authority. 'Tis plain he did so, in the Case of a *Baronet*. Now with what Pleasure must our *Nobility* read and digest this memorable Passage? One would think, indeed, it must be somewhat grating for a Person of the first Extract and Dignity to obey the Nod, or to wear the *Manacles*, or take the *King's Plate*, at the Hands of an *insolent Commoner*.

Our *honourable Patriots* observe farther, that *Pikes* and *Halberts* were the only Weapons heretofore in Use, and *Watchmen* the only proper Guards, for the Preservation and Security of the *Fleet*. But Mr. B. has now levy'd and introduc'd a *standing Force*, instead of a *regular Militia*, always ready to be called together on any emergent Occasions. He arms them with *Musquets* and *Bayonets*; keeps them in his *own Pay*; gives them the Word, *to fire*; leads them on to the Attack of Doors and Locks, and to the stripping and plundering of Rooms, and orders them to stab, kill, insult, iron, torture, staple down, and drag into noisome Dungeons and Vaults, (the Receptacles both of the *Living* and the *Dead*) sometimes perhaps a *Baronet*, now and then only a *Squire* or *Gentleman*, and sometimes even *Captains* themselves (as in Mr. *Sinclair's* Case) provided they are *reduc'd*, or not in his *own Pay*. By the Help of these Mirmydons, and for the Augmentation of his Forces, besides the Troops regularly *list'd* and enrolled, he can *press* Men into the Service, upon the very verge of his Territories, (as was the Case of *Thom Hogg*) and for all these *military Preparations*, he gives the best political Reasons imaginable; *first*, by pleading his *Prerogative*, that it is done by his *own Authority*; and *secondly*, by declaring the Ends and Necessity of these wise Provisions, and their Usefulness to the Publick; that it is done *for preserving the Quiet and Safety of his People*.

The admirable *Quevedo*, in one of his *Visions*, speaks of a Sett of Wretches, whom a hard-hearted Devil would not admit into *Hell*; and of their great Concern and Uneasiness at this Disappointment. This seems to be the Case of some Prisoners, whom Mr. B. would not admit into *Goal*. No; They must first pass the *Purgatory* of a *Spunging-House*; and there be drain'd of their Money; then the *Fleet* takes them, where their *Spirit*, the last Thing they have to lose, is broken by *Irons* and *Dungeons*; and *Death*, the last and only Favour, is deny'd them; at least, it must not be brought on too soon, (as in *Castell's* Case) but with a slow, lingering Pace, not with a *Twitch*, or in a *Blaze*, which is the less arbitrary Practice of *persecuting Tyrants* and *popish Inquisitions*. How great a *Machiavel* is Mr. B? He knows how to discipline and train Men to Slavery. They must first be impoverish'd; then tempted to complain; then check'd and restrain'd for complaining; their Spirits gently tam'd, and leisurely reduc'd.—*Damn him* (says B. of Mr. *Macphedris*) *he is easy*.—This was his Crime; and to punish him, drive him out of his Room.—Down with his Hut.—Let him lie in the Cold and Rain.—And still is he *easy*?—Then attack him Sword in Hand.—Away with him to the *Dungeon*.—Iron and torture him.—Disable him of his Legs and his Sight.—And if he is *easy* still, he is deliver'd over to a reprobate Spirit of Disaffection and Apostacy.

Mr. B. seems to be well experienc'd, and improv'd, in the Management and Disposition of *publick Accounts* and *Revenues*; for some *Books* he conceal'd or destroy'd; and others he kept indeed, but with a decent and proper Negligence. *Smuglers* and Debtors to the *Crown* he would suffer to escape, and assist them in it; but if they went into *Trade* (of which he was a great Encourager) they must be strictly accountable for his *Share* and *Dividend*; and whilst they paid *unjust Fees* punctually.

punctually and honestly, if they were deficient in their *just Debts*, he gave them the Protection of the House. For fear of any Mistakes, he order'd Fees to be paid *six or seven Times over*; and to shew his Impartiality, tax'd Rooms & *Rent*, that never paid before; by which he brought all Things to an Equality. He valued *Liberty* by the Day, not as some Niggards do by the Hour or the Moment; and gave his *Rules* accordingly. His *Scape Warrants* were not intended to confine or injure the Person, but to bring him to a fair Account and Dividend of what he had gotten, during his Elopement. How noble and extensive a Charity was it, to *discharge* and *exonerate* no less than one hundred and nineteen Persons in the Space of three Days only, and for Debts of no less Value than 17099! *Charity bideth a Multitude of Sins*; and shall we forgive the Sins committed against others, without any Good or Benefit to ourselves? No; the *Consideration-Money* is not mention'd; and This, with all other incidental Charges of Mr. B's Administration, are flung at once into the *Christmas-Box*; by which he makes and insists upon no farther Demands, but generously relies on the Benevolence and Free-will Offerings of his Creatures.

Swearing the Truth ought, no Doubt, to be encourag'd; but Mr. B's Manner of Swearing by *Proxy*, is an Improvement upon this Scheme. His Method of preparing *Affidavits*, and drawing in Persons, by *Riot* or *Menaces*, to confirm them upon Oath, appears to be exactly copied from Serjeant *Kite's* Principle, *swearing for the Good of the Service*. Indeed, his Way of *indicting others first*, to prevent being *indicted himself*, and of drawing Men in to *plead Guilty*, in hopes of Favour, and afterwards treating them as the worst of Criminals, are not without *Precedent*; but then his refusing *Solicitors* to have Access to their *Clients*, and taking away, instead of suspending, the *Writs of habeas Corpus*, would appear to be extraordinary.

dinary Steps, were they not to be accounted for, upon that high Fundamental, *the Reason and Necessity of State*.

I admire Mr. B's Notion of the Use of *Women* and *Informers* in a well-regulated Government; and therefore he did wisely, in committing the Oversight of his *Spunging Houses* to *Mary Whitwood* and others, for the more effectual draining and dispiriting of his Vassals. Hence also it is, that the *Lyon's Den* and the *Women's Ward* are so near to one another; tho' Both are said to be *noisome and out of Repair*.

But lastly, and above all other Accomplishments, I like his Skill and Conduct in the *Disposal* and *Engrossing* of the several Places of *Trust* and *Profit*, within his Jurisdiction. All These were *venal*, that they might be exactly like his *own*. He assum'd the Power of changing *Sides* and *Rooms*, and turn'd many out of *Places*, which they had paid for, on Purpose to be paid for them again. He took large *Premiums*; but gave his Dealers a Power, to reimburse themselves out of the Pockets of his Vassals. He excell'd in *Quartering* and *splitting* of Places, by putting two, three, or four Beds in a Room, and two or three Lodgers in a Bed; and he was so skilful an *Engrosser*, that when he took the *Sum total* to himself, charged in a *Bill* or *Table* delivered to the Judges, he acted both as *Warden*, *Clerk*, *Chamberlain*, *Gaoler*, *Porter* and *Chaplain*; to the last of which Officers he gave a small *Stipend* or *Donative*, and took up all the *great Tythes* in kind to himself. How he justifies this Incroachment upon the *Church*, I know not; but I am told that he is subtle enough to find an *Error* in the great Lord Chancellor *King's* Opinion; who has plainly declared, that there ought to be *no Prison in a Prison*, by shewing clearly, that *one* of them is only a *strong Room*, or a *Dungeon*.

The ever memorable Sir *John Falstaff* died a Prisoner in the *Fleet*. I wish he had left us some *Memoirs*

moirs and Account of the Place in his Time ; but there his *Wit* and his *Fat* both fail'd him together. Gossip *Quickly* seems to intimate that he talk'd much of *Hell* ; but were he now going to the *Fleet*, he would chuse rather to die in the *Ditch*, than to linger in the *Prison*.—You may expect a *Panegyrick* from Mr. *B.* or Company, upon the superior Glories and Privileges of *Newgate*.

I am, S I R, Yours,

O.

BOULEPHORUS.



N^o 150. SATURDAY, *May 17, 1729.*

My Friend and Correspondent, who sometime ago obliged me with several, excellent *Persian Letters*, hath sent me the following ; which, I doubt not, will meet with the same good Reception from the Publick.

R I C A to U S B E C K.



HERE is lately arrived here a famous *Traveller*. He hath discover'd Countries never known before. He hath, with great Accuracy and Judgment, given us a Description of them. He hath printed and made publick this History for the general Good. His Name is L E M U E L G U L L I V E R. He is a Captain of a Ship. I was curious to be acquainted with him in Person ; for thou knowest

knowest, *Usbeck*, my Soul thirsts after Knowledge. This hath made me a Wanderer over the Earth.— This *Traveller*, I speak of, is ingenious and well-natur'd. He satisfied me. He answer'd, with Pleasure, all my Questions. He open'd to me his whole History. He gave me an Account of his Voyage to the Island *Grimbagria*; which He told me, for some weighty Reasons, He omitted to publish an Account of in his native Country. I will tell thee, *Usbeck*, and as near as I can remember give thee a very short Account of it, in the Words of the *Commander* himself.

Grimbagria (as it is now called by many of the Inhabitants) and by others *Abrotia*, is so named, as it may be supposed, from some *Greek Colony*, which antiently settled there, and is situate towards the *north west* Part of EUROPE. Perhaps, it may be called the Land of the *Abroti* (the *Insensibles*; or rather the *Inconsistent*) from the continual Desire, which most of the Inhabitants shew to act in Contradiction to what they profess; so that their Deeds and their Words are at perpetual Variance. They have been always accounted a great, a generous, a well-natur'd and a warlike People. They have often subdued their Enemies in the *Field*; but have very seldom defeated them in the *Cabinet*.— They have, for more than a Century, boasted and enjoy'd the Freedom of their Bodies and their Minds.— But they are now sunk in the Love of Wealth.— Corruption has introduced Luxury, and Luxury Poverty; and now the sole Government among them seems to be *Money*. By this Instrument the *Ambitious* rule. They insinuate. They deceive. They destroy. It is the Master Key to every Passion.

As *Lemuel* reported them to me, I will let thee into some few of their *Inconsistencies*; occasioned, as I conceive, from their *Avarice*.

When any of their *Priests* have Interest enough to be named a *Schiban* or Dignitary in the *Church* (to which there are always large and annual Stipends annexed for Life) and to have the Office granted him by the Emperor, after he has perhaps solicited some Years very warmly for the Employment, he comes to the Place of Election; and, laying his Hand upon his Breast, declares that he is *unwilling*; he is *unworthy*; and then accepts it.

When a Man stands Candidate for the Office of *O-rator* in any of their publick Schools, after he has first canvass'd every Vote, and found he has a Majority determined to chuse him to that Honour; he rises up; he professes his *Inability*; he desires they would elect some Person *more worthy*; and then takes his Seat.

Among the lower Orders of the People, this Humour, which appears odd to us, is every where to be found. I have myself (says *Lemuel*) seen a Fellow raised on a publick Stage, in the View of a multitude of Spectators, openly profess he could cure all *Diseases*; and then prove his Words, by jumping thro' three or four *Hoops* placed horizontally. — I have known another sort of *Mountebank*, when he has been charged with breaking his *Trust* and embezzling the *Treasure* committed to his Care, laugh in the very Faces of his *Creditors*, and tell them what he did was for their *Good*; and that they must trust him again, or they could not be happy. They have immediately agreed the Thing to be quite right, and have employ'd him again in their Service.

After This, I have known them intrust very large Sums, *without Account*, in the Hands of this very Person, who was publicly known to have neither *OEconomy* nor *Probity*; and This for no other Reason but that he had a Quality of talking volubly in an odd Flow of Words, which to the ignorant looked like *Eloquence*. This Man has been long employ'd; and from the first Moment *Shamgrigg* was employed,
(That

(That is his Name) all his *Re'ations*, even the lowest of his Slaves, were qualify'd for any Employment. To give an Instance, said the *Captain*, when I was there, *Schabrigg* (or the *Tumbler*) a Thing thoroughly ridiculous both in Body and Mind, and without any other Qualification than having been used to dispose Bribes for his Master, was chosen by him to represent the Person of the *Emperor* in a very wise and neighbouring Court; but, by the Way, being rebuked for his *Indecency* and *Ribaldry*, he was return'd upon *Shamgrigg's* Hands, before he could arrive at the Court he was design'd to grace with his Presence. And some time after This, *Ecarob*, another Relation of *Shamgrigg's*, the most slovenly and under-bred Droll that ever took upon him a publick Character, without either *Address* or *Understanding*, was sent upon the most important Embassy, to the politest and the most artful Court in the World; even to the Emperor of the *Cerco-Pithecians*, to settle there some Affairs of the greatest Weight and Moment. You see them then thus wholly inconsistent. Do they boast of *Freedom*? They are the Slaves of *Luxury*. Do they vaunt their *antient Valour*? Behold their very Valour *useless*, and their Arms bound down by *modern Policy*. They bribe themselves with their own Money; and while each Individual is eagerly endeavouring to rob the Publick of something, They do not seem to consider that the whole must sink, and that they are stealing away the Planks of the very Ship that they sail in.

To go yet a little farther, and to keep up the Character throughout, their *great Emperor* is quite the reverse both of his *Ministers* and of his *People*. He hath no Wishes, but for the Good of Mankind in general, and of his own Subjects in particular. He is just. He is brave, sincere and equitable; and as he is desirous that his People may flourish in the full Enjoyment of Wealth and Liberty, he does what is within his Pow-

er to contribute to it.—But they say his Desires are daily contravened by *Art*, by *Fraud*, by *Corruption*. This they call *Policy*.—Thus far went my good Friend Lemuel.

I will tell thee, *Usbeck*, this same *Policy of State* among the *Europeans* is a Word, which gives an Idea of all the intangled Mazes and Craft of a *ministerial Head*. By the vexatious Follies, which we see every Day working in ambitious Brains, Mankind seem to me, *Usbeck*, to be in the Nature of the forty thousand black Angels, who torture one another for ever in the Valley of Darkness. Yet this *Shamgrigg*, this bad Man, whose History *Lemuel* has given us, I look on only as a *Bubble*. He holds his Power as Boys do Gunpowder. It will fire in his Hand and soon destroy him; and if I lived in that Country, I should hourly expect to see him blow up.

The Soul of the *ambitious Man*, *Usbeck*, is in perpetual Action and Disturbance. He aspires like the sealed Dove, only from his *Blindness*. His Flight must be giddy, as it is dark. He is painful in Search of Ease. His Hope robs him of his Joy. While he hunts the Game in *Prospect*, he loses the Possession of what he has; and he quits a real, in Pursuit of a fantastick Good. He is the *Thing* only of the *Things*, which he calls his; and the lowest of his Slaves, his very *Pensioners*, are but like those Guards, who have their Princes in Custody, at the same Time that they pretend to be his Security; like the *Janizaries* of the *Sultan*, who sometimes put their Master to Death.

Yet, *Usbeck*, there is a Sort of *virtuous Ambition*: or, if thou pleasest, call it an *honourable Pride*; which only shines out in a good Mind. The Man, who disdains to be guilty of *Avarice* or *Fraud*, the vulgar means to *Wealth* and *Dignities*; who dares, at all Hazards, to oppose all Attacks upon his own Rights, or the Rights of his Fellow Subjects; who dares not to entertain the Thoughts of obtaining Power by

Infamy. — This Man is not only great, but serene and happy in the Consciousness of his own well-doing. He is victorious, and triumphs over those little, but tormenting Passions, that subdue and tyrannize the Souls of the great *Vulgar*. His well-temper'd Mind remains unshaken by the whole Artillery of lawless Ambition, and quiet and undisturbed rebates the Blows of Fortune and the Edge of every Disappointment. As thou knowest, *Usbeck*, in those serener Regions, beyond our Atmosphere, no Storms arise; no Tempests roar; no black Clouds are seen; all is calm and glorious, free from Convulsions and fiery Meteors, which vex and disorder our nether World; such a Man (if he is to be found any where but in Imagination) is Master of the greatest and best Power a reasonable Creature can wish for; the Power over himself; and This must invest him with real and unperishable Honours, and deliver him from the most exalted Slavery. In a Word, the worthily ambitious Man possesses what neither Fate nor Adversity can take from him. He seeks Honour in Virtue; and supports the Dignity of his Nature from the Contempt of Vice; and tho' he may appear but little to vulgar Sight, like a Star almost out of the reach of the naked Eye, He is easily distinguished by the Knowing from those *Meteors*, which glare and portend Mischief to Mankind, and are, at their *biggest Pitch*, nearest to their *Fall*.

R.





APPENDIX.

The *CRAFTSMAN* Extraordinary.
Being REMARKS on a late PAMPHLET, intitled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain, &c.*

By W. RALEIGH.

Printed in the Year 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



THE late Pamphlet, intitled *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain, &c.* being chiefly designed as an Answer to my first Letter on the pretended Project of a TRUCE, it may be thought incumbent on me to justify what I have written ; for though this Piece (which consists of nothing but *Inconsistencies, Contradictions, Prævarications, and downright Falshoods*) is already sunk into that Contempt, which it deserves ; yet when a *private Person* launches into Politicks, it is his Duty to pay some Regard to an Adversary, who produces the least Marks of *Authority*, however mean and despicable his Performance may be thought.

The Shortness of Time will, I hope, excuse any little Inaccuracies of Stile, or trivial Mistakes, that I may happen to fall into through the Course of these

Remarks, which every Body will perceive required Haste.

I shall pass over all his little Sophistry on the *Freedom of Writing*, as well as his dirty Imputations of *Libelling*, *Disaffection* and ill Designs against the *Government* (those trite, worn-out Topicks of every wretched Scribbler against you for above these two Years past) and come directly to the Points, upon which the whole Stress of his Arguments, such as they are, depends.

The first Objection, which he undertakes to confute, is the *supposed Inactivity of our Squadrons, and the Depredations committed by the Spaniards upon our Merchants in the west Indies.*

In order to do This, he hath given us, what he calls, the *Instructions to Admiral Hosier*, and the other Commanders of our Squadrons in those Parts.

I shall not enquire from *whom* he received these Lights; though it seems very extraordinary that a *little, obscure Pamphleteer* should be favoured with Papers of such a private Nature, as have been sometimes refused, even upon Applications in *Parliament.*

Neither will I offer to dispute whether these Instructions are *genuine and authentick*; though there are several Things in them, which have a suspicious Aspect. By the *first Orders*, given to Admiral Hosier, it looks as if *Those*, who sent him, did not understand the Service they sent him upon; for they direct him to block up the *Flota* and *Galleons* in the Port of *Cartagena*; which is indeed a proper Port to look for the *Galleons* in; but the *Flota* was never there, since the *Spaniards* traded to that Country. By the *second Instructions*, they seem to be sensible of their Mistake, by giving him distinct Orders to take Care of the *Flota*; which makes it probable that, at first, they took the *Flota* and *Galleons* to be the *same Fleet*, and did not know that *one* came from *Peru*, and the *other* from *Mexico.*

Neither

Neither can I find out the Reason for preferring the *Galleons*, in these *Instructions*, to the *Flota*; for if keeping the *Spanish Treasure* from going home was the Intent of that Expedition, the *Flota* was as material an Attention as the *Galleons*, having as much Money aboard them; and both might have been intercepted, had our Fleet been rightly stationed at first, *viz.* in the Bay of *Matanzas* in the Island of *Cuba*, where they might have stayed much more conveniently than at the *Bastimentos*.

Indeed stopping the *Flota* is made the next Point to stopping the *Galleons*; but considering the Port, from whence it comes, and the Course it steers, it was almost impossible that a Squadron, lying at the *Bastimentos*, should intercept them, or gain any Intelligence of them.

In another Part of these Orders, Admiral *Hosier* is instructed to PERSUADE the Spaniards to let him take them; which I confess looks, at first Sight, somewhat *romantick* and *ridiculous*.

These Particulars, I say, might render the whole liable to Suspicion; but though I could not help taking some Notice of them, I would not be thought to infer from hence the Impossibility of their being *authentick*; for though I have a very bad Opinion of the *Pamphleteer*, I cannot think that he would dare to impose upon the World in a Matter of such Consequence; but since it was thought necessary to give the Publick some Satisfaction in this Affair, I could wish he had favoured us with ALL these *Instructions* at Length and entire, (for This does not appear to be the Case) that we might have been able to form a true Judgment, upon a View of the *Whole*, which cannot be so well done by *Scraps* and *Extracts*.

However, it appears from these *Orders* themselves (as he hath thought fit to publish them) that stopping the *Galleons* was to be their chief Care; and that they were not to *risque the Success of it upon any Ac-*

count. I will therefore leave it to the Judgment of Mankind, whether any prudent Officer, under such a *strict and particular Injunction*, would run the least Hazard of failing in that *main Point*, by endeavouring to protect our *Merchants*. It is certain, at least, that the *Spaniards* did, and do still continue their Outrages with very little Molestation, and without any *considerable Reprisals* made on our Parts. Nay, the Commanders of our Squadrons were so far from giving any Assistance to our Merchants in those Seas, that it is well known the Exigencies of the publick Service obliged them to make such an *Impress* on their Ships (to supply the great Loss and Destruction of the Men, on board our Squadrons) as rendered them unable to perform their Voyages.

His reasoning therefore, on this Head, is reduced to one of these Points ; either first, that the *naval Force*, sent to those Parts, was not sufficient to perform such *different Services* ; or secondly, that our Admiral and Commanders did apprehend themselves to be *confined or embarrassed by some Cautions and Limitations* ; or thirdly, that they either *neglected*, or did not *understand* their Duty ; which would be such a Reflection upon the Skill, Courage and Integrity of those *excellent Officers*, as will not easily pass upon the World.

The *Pamphleteer* hath produced Part of one Letter from Admiral *Hofier* ; in which he gives an Account, contrary to the general Opinion here till this Time, that the *Spaniards* had disembarked their Treasure, and sent it back to *Panama*, before he arrived at the *Basimentos* ; upon which this Writer observes, that he could not have taken any Thing but *empty Hulks* ; and then seems to think himself very smart in asking, *whether such a Pledge would have had much Influence on the Councils of Spain ?* To which I reply, first, that This is nothing to the Purpose ; because it is plain, that the Admiral had no Power to seize the *Galleons*, in case they had not been unloaded ; so that his Ar-
rival

rival could have no other Effect, than That of their own *Advice-Boat*, to make them *secure their Treasure*. Secondly, I do not think it would have been such bad Policy to have taken even the *empty Hulks*, or burnt them in the Port (so that the *Spaniards* could have made no farther Use of them) and to have sailed immediately to *Vera Cruz*, and seized the *Flota*, instead of lying so long to watch *empty Hulks*, till our own Ships became *rotten*, and almost *empty Hulks* themselves.

I could wish, for the farther Information and Satisfaction of the Publick, that the *Pamphleteer* had found it convenient to give us the Sight of all Admiral *Hofier's Letters*; for no doubt he must have sent several, during his long and disastrous Continuance on that Station; from whence perhaps we might have had some farther Light into this Affair, or collected at least what his Opinion was of the Nature of his *Instructions*, and the Conduct of that *Expedition*. However, it is well known in what Manner he expressed himself, upon several Occasions, both at *Jamaica*, and in Letters to his Friends in *England*.

I am ready to subscribe, with the greatest Pleasure and Sincerity, to all the Encomiums, which this Writer makes on Sir *Charles Wager*; whom I know to be a Gentleman of the most amiable Character both in *publick* and *private Life*. I am confident that no Difficulties or Dangers could deter him from doing his Duty; that no Temptations could prevail upon him to betray his Trust; and that he did not want the greatest Skill and Abilities to execute it. I have the same good Opinion of Sir *John Jennings*, and other Commanders, who were sent upon those Services; and when the *Pamphleteer* was in his panegyrical Strain, I could wish that he had done Justice to their Characters; and likewise paid some small Tribute of Gratitude to the Memory of those *brave Officers*, who had the Misfortune to perish (I was going to say, were sacrificed).

sacrificed) in the Service of their Country.—But they are dead, and have it not now in their Power to *justify themselves* or to *accuse others*.

But to return — I do not find by the Orders given to Sir *Charles Wager*, the 22d of *December* 1726, that he was impowered to intercept any Ships with *Stores, Ammunition, or Provisions*, bound for the *Spanish Camp*, then in Sight of *Gibraltar*, in order to besiege it ; nor instructed, even by the soft Endeavours of *Persuasion*, or otherwise, to get them or their Cargo into his Possession, to disable them from beginning Hostilities ; notwithstanding the same Orders directed him to reinforce the Garrison of *Gibraltar*, which was then going to be besieged, by *sending the Land Forces then on board Admiral Hopson's Squadron* and, *in case of Need, to give all the Relief and Assistance he was able to the said Garrison* ; though I have been credibly informed, the *Spaniards* were permitted to pass by our Squadron, even under the Stern of the Admiral, and safely land *Stores, Provisions, Ammunition* and other Necessaries for the Siege of that Place.

If This be true, as I am assured it is, I should be glad to know for what Reasons his Instructions ran in that *soft Strain* ; or why so much Complaisance was shewn to the *Spaniards*, upon the Occasion of such an undisguised Design against that important Fortrefs. I am the more desirous to know This, because I am sure it could not proceed from any want of Vigilance or Zeal in that *brave and excellent Officer*, who is a Man of too established a Character to suffer in any Body's Opinion, by the oblique and ungenerous Insinuation of this Writer, after all his Compliments, *that he was not attended with his former good Fortune*.

The *Pamphleteer*, having thus refuted the Objections against the *supposed Inactivity* of our Squadrons, by producing some Parts of the *Instructions* to the Commanders of them ; and shewn, as he tells us, *that*

the

the Losses of our Merchants have not been owing to any Want of that Care, which the Government ought always to take for the Protection of our Trade; he proceeds, in the next Place, to give us some Account of those Captures, which he says are not near so considerable as they have been represented; and having prefaced this Part likewise with a great many angry Reflections, he produces a List of twenty-six Ships, which he would have us believe to be ALL, that we have really lost.—— His Address in cooking up this Account is very remarkable.

1. We are told This is an exact List of all such Ships as have been taken by the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, since the Conclusion of the *Treaty of Hanover*. But why should he confine it thus to *Place and Time*? I mention'd, indeed, only *three Years past*, by Reason of the frequency of the Captures during that Time; but if I had undertaken to give the Publick an Account of *all our Losses*, I should certainly have begun my Account a great deal *farther back*; much less should I have limited it to the *West Indies*; since I presume that Ships, taken in the *Ocean* and other *Seas*, are as much Losses to our Merchants, as Those taken in *America*, and that they have the same Right to expect Reparation for them.

2. This is a List of such Captures only, as have been, at any Time, conveyed to the Knowledge of the Government, either by the immediate Complaints of the Merchants concerned in those Captures; their Representations to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; or the Accounts transmitted by his Majesty's Ministers and Consuls abroad; which is what I suppose he means by the most *authentick Testimonies*. But is it to be inferred from hence, as he seems to do, that no more Losses have been sustained than what have been *thus formally complained of*? I grant, indeed, that no Merchant can expect Reparation, who does not give in the *Particulars* of his Losses; but it is well known

known that many of these *Sufferers* did not do This ; which might proceed from different Causes. Several Merchants, who reside in our *Plantations* and *Settlements* abroad, might not have Opportunity to transmit the Particulars of their Losses, and authorize their Agents to make a regular Complaint ; for, if I am not misinform'd, some Complaints were actually brought in, after the Account was closed, and therefore not inserted in it. Others might neglect to do it, by despairing of Success ; and thinking, perhaps, that the Prospect of Reparation would not answer the Trouble of complaining.

The Publick, I believe, will soon see a true Account of our Losses, by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, both in the *West Indies* and in *other Seas*, from a proper *Period* of Time ; which will more fully shew the *Fallacy* of this *partial List*, which ought to be resented with the utmost Indignation, as an Insult on the Misfortunes and Calamities of the *British Merchants*.

I am told that the *Pamphleteer* had a Design to oblige us likewise, in this Piece, with a *counter-List* of those Ships, which we have taken from the *Spaniards*, during the late Disturbances ; and that This was actually printed, but afterwards *cancelled* and *suppressed*. I am sorry to hear that any Motives could induce so *impartial a Writer* to rob us of this Catalogue, which was not only very proper, but would no Doubt give great Satisfaction to the Publick.

The only Objection, says the *Pamphleteer*, that remains to be answered upon this Point of the Spanish Depredations, is with Regard to Letters of Marque and Reprizal ; by which the Traders might have been authoriz'd to make themselves Reparation. He acknowledges that the Merchants, in the Situation we were then in, with Regard to Spain, had a Right, both by our own Law and That of Nations, to demand such Letters. He then proceeds to justify the Ministry (which I hope wants no Justification) by shewing that such
Letters

Letters were not refused. Those are his Words. But how does he shew it? Why, he gives us *two Instances* of Owners of Ships, who did apply for them, upon an Order published in the *Gazette*, and were actually *refused*; and does not produce one Instance of any Man whatsoever, to whom they were *granted*.

He tells us indeed, by Way of Apology for this *Refusal*, that the preliminary Treaty having been for some Time negotiating at Paris, his late Majesty thought proper to defer issuing these *Commissions*, till he should see the Success of that Negotiation. He adds that the preliminary Articles were signed at Paris, the 20th of May, and that *Draughts of Instructions to the Lords of the Admiralty*, for granting Letters of Marque, were signed by his late Majesty after the 21st of April. As therefore the preliminary Treaty had been some time negotiating at Paris, the Question is whether it was not actually negotiating at the Time, when this Order was published in the *Gazette*; and if it was, why was the Order published at all? since it could only tend to putting the Merchants upon equipping Ships for this Service (as I am told several did at *Bristol*) to no purpose, and at a great Expence.

This therefore is such a *Justification* of the Ministry, as I am sure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, would be afraid to publish.

He proceeds, in the last Place, to expose the *Clamour*, that hath been raised against the *Negotiations* at *Soissons*, and the *Project* of Accommodation, which hath caused so much Disquiet.

I confess it gives me some Pleasure to find that I was right in my Conjecture, that if any such *Project* were really in Agitation, it would not bear the Name of a *Truce*; for lo! it is not called a *Truce*; It is a *provisional Treaty*; though, for my Part, I am not able to discover any Difference between them, unless it be in the Sound; for a *provisional Treaty* does not seem to imply, any more than a *Truce*, a final Determination

tion of all the Differences, which is so much wanted, but only a *Suspension* of them for a Time.

The *preliminary Treaty* was, properly speaking, a *provisional Treaty*, as it was to *provide for something farther* at the Congress; but that the Negotiations at this Assembly should end in a *provisional Treaty only*, is not what we had Reason to expect from the *Affurances* so often given us.

I cannot forbear observing, in this Place, the *various Denominations*, under which *this Treaty* hath passed. At first, we were promised a *full, formal and established Peace*; but soon after the Conclusion of the *last Session*, it was called, in the foreign Prints, a *Pacification*; and after That an *Idea of a Pacification*; then it was a *Truce*, and bore that Name in all Papers, foreign and domestick, for several Months together; at last, according to this Writer, it is neither a *Peace*, nor a *Pacification*, nor an *Idea of a Pacification*, nor a *Truce*, but a *provisional Treaty*.

Well! if a *Peace* could not be obtained, and a *Truce* would not go down; e'en let it be a *provisional Treaty*; or what else they please. I scorn to insist upon *Names* with these Gentlemen; but will examine the *Treaty* itself, as it is given us by the *Pamphleteer*.

It is somewhat strange that a *Writer*, who takes upon Himself such an Air of *Authority*, should condescend to borrow his Materials from the *Post-Boy*; and more strange, that he should charge me with *affecting to call this Treaty a Truce*; when he cannot be ignorant that the *Post-Boy*, from which he quotes the *Articles*, as well as the *Dutch Prints*, from whence the *Post-Boy* translated them, and *all Papers*, for at least two Months before I wrote my *first Letter*, called it constantly by *that Name*.

When I first undertook this Examination of the pretended Project of a *Truce*, I treated it as *chimerical*, or the *Invention of ill designing Men*, and argued

gu'd from the *Defects of the Articles*, that I could not believe them to be *genuine*. What therefore could induce *this Writer* to affirm, *that we have not so much as pretended to shew that this Project is deficient, in not providing for all those Points, that have been the Subject of the late Disputes between Great-Britain and foreign Powers*; when the whole Tenor of *that Letter* was to prove the *Defects* of it, by a very circumstantial Induction of Particulars? — But in *This* he not only advances a *Falshood*, but contradicts himself, as such Writers are apt to do; for in the very Page before this Assertion, *that we have not so much as pretended to shew that this Project is deficient*, he tells us, *that he shall make some Observations on the OBJECTIONS, which these Writers have made to it.*

Neither can it surely be forgot, that the Author of the *British Journal* represented *this Project*, and these *very Articles*, in the same Manner, as *chimerical*, and charged me with trumping them up, *in order to asperse the Ministers with odious Designs*. He called them besides *unintelligible Projects, dark Things and ill meant Reports, which bear no Sign of Credibility, and do not deserve the Name of Intelligence*; so that when *these Articles* had been given up, in this Manner, by a *Writer* (who, I was informed, had Access to a *Person in Authority*) it would have been ridiculous to enter into a farther Detail of the *Defects* of them. — But now (according to the usual *Inconsistency* of these Men, and their *desultory* Method of Reasoning) we are to unbelieve every Thing, which we were taught to believe about *six Weeks* ago. These *unintelligible Projects*, which it was *Faction* at that Time even to mention, are now acknowledg'd to be really *genuine*; the whole Success of our Negotiations is put upon them; and they are made the Basis of our *future Settlement*. —

Some farther Observations therefore are now become seasonable and requisite.

He tells us that, by *this Treaty*, we obtain the plainest and most direct Acknowledgment and Confirmation of our Right to all our Possessions, and to all our Privileges in Trade; even Those, which had been disputed, in Opposition to preceding Treaties. But in what Manner is this Acknowledgment and Confirmation obtain'd? The Pamphleteer proves it thus. By the second Article, the Treaties of Utrecht, Rastad and Baden, the Treaty of the Hague in 1717, together with the Quadruple Alliance, and ALL the Treaties and Conventions, antecedent to 1725, the preliminary Articles, and the Convention signed at the Pardo, are made the Basis and Foundation of the present Treaty; and being expressly confirmed by it, without any Restriction of Time, whatsoever hath been stipulated in our Favour, in any of those Treaties and Conventions, receives a new and perpetual Sanction by This. — upon which I observe.

1. That I cannot comprehend how a temporary Treaty, which I take a provisional Treaty to be, can give a perpetual Sanction to any Thing.

2. Can a Treaty be properly called perpetual (tho' not expressly limited to any Time) or be said to give a perpetual Sanction, which does not finally adjust one Point in Dispute, but leaves them to the Determination of Commissioners, and consequently subject to future Debates?

3. Supposing this Treaty leaves us upon the Foot of former Treaties; is it not well known that the Sense of some of those Treaties hath been disputed; and may they not be disputed again, and occasion the same Disturbances?

I will instance only in the Case of Gibraltar. As the second Article of this Treaty is to the very same Effect as the second Article of the preliminary Treaty; (both of which relate to our Possessions in general; for
Gibral-

Gibraltar is not particularly mentioned in either) I cannot see how we are better secured against the Pretensions of *Spain* to *this Place*, than we were by the *preliminary Articles*; and is it not notorious that the *Spaniards* have insisted, and do yet insist, that their Pretensions, founded upon a *Promise* under the Hand of his late Majesty, in the Year 1721, are confirmed by the said *Preliminaries*? As they insist therefore to have this *pretended Promise* cleared and adjusted in the Congress in *their Favour*; so, as we maintain, on the other hand, that *these Pretensions* to *Gibraltar*, however founded, are given up by this *second Article*; it is equally incumbent upon us to insist that the *Preliminaries* should be so explained in *our Favour*, as to exclude all Doubts and Questions upon them for the future; for as This is the most important Point with Relation to *Great-Britain*, it is reasonable that it should be secured to us, in this Treaty, by a particular Article to explain it; as some other Things of less Consequence have been, which seem to require no Explanation, and are as fully and clearly provided for, in the *second Article* of this Treaty.

It must be farther observed, says the Pamphleteer, *that by this Article, and by the third and fifth, we are effectually secured from all the dangerous Engagements, contained in the publick and private Treaties of Vienna.—Those dangerous Engagements were*, as he tells us,

1. *That the trading Subjects of the Emperor should be treated in the Dominions of Spain MORE FAVOURABLY than Those of Great-Britain.* But This appears to be false from the Treaty itself, which mentions only that they should be treated as the *most favoured Nations*, which other Treaties provide for us, who are to be always looked upon as *Gens amicissima*; and consequently whatever Privileges the Emperor, or any other Prince, may obtain for their Subjects, from his *catholick Majesty*, must be conceded to us, at the

same Time, by Virtue of those former Treaties. But how are we now secured from the dangerous Engagements of the *Vienna* Treaty, unless by a Declaration of his *catholick Majesty*, that he never understood to grant, by the said Treaty of *Vienna*, any Privilege contrary to the Treaties confirmed with us, nor to give to the Subjects of his *Imperial Majesty* any greater Advantages than Those, enjoyed by any other Nations? This is no more than what both the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* have from the Beginning declared. Yet as This hath been a laboured Point, and strenuously asserted by us, as well in Parliament as elsewhere, and made the Basis of the *Hanover* Treaty, as of the utmost Importance to this Kingdom; a *Declaration* only, in this Case, can be of no more Force and Virtue than it hath hitherto been, whilst the *Vienna* Treaty subsists in every Part, as much as it did the first Day it was made.

2. *That the Emperor, in case his good Offices were ineffectual, would assist his catholick Majesty to recover Gibraltar by Force.*—This likewise does not appear by the Treaty; nor did his *Imperial Majesty*, as far as I ever heard, give the *Spaniards* the least Assistance, when they actually besieged that Fortress.

3. *That Spain would by Arms assist the Emperor in carrying on the Ostend Trade, which is to be suspended by this Treaty.* It must be owned indeed that the *Dutch* are extremely happy, if this *Provision* content them, in having such Advocates, or rather Champions, to support their Quarrels; whilst our Fleets and Armies, at the Expence of our Treasure, and the Lives of so many brave Men, have procured them these Concessions, and they remain unactive in all Parts, reaping the Benefit of our Quarrels, and driving on the Trade of the whole World; and are at the same Time courted, to say no more, to espouse their own Interest.

And here it must be repeated, that though it has been disputed whether the *Ostend* Charter is an Infraction

fraction of former Treaties; yet since it is made a *Point*, and insisted upon to be prejudicial to our Commerce, and we are bound by Treaties to support the *Dutch* in these *Pretensions*; it might seem perhaps absolutely necessary to have this Affair finally adjusted, so as never to break out again; or at least to be revived in any short Time; by which *Europe* may be engaged in the like Quarrel; in which *England* must bear the greatest Part, if she is not made the *only Principal*; and therefore it is not so absurd to expect that the *Emperor* should put an End to this Dispute by *revoking his Charter*.

But it is pretty extraordinary that, considering the great Interest we have in this Affair, (as it is affirmed) and the *Point* we have made of it, there should be no Notice taken of *us*, in the Article, which provides for its Suspension, nor so much as a Compliment made to us for our generous Interposition.

4. *And lastly, (pray observe him!) our Apprehensions were, that there might be Engagements in Favour of the Pretender.*—Alas! how do the *Observations* fall short of that Spirit, which appeared in the *Enquiry*? There we see the Author rousing up the Nation to a just Resentment of those *dangerous Engagements in Favour of the Pretender*. We see him affirming, with the greatest Confidence, that soon after the Publication of the *Vienna Treaties of Peace and Commerce*, they had *positive Intelligence, and Intelligence from more than one Person, and such as could be intirely depended on, that one express Article of this Alliance between the Emperor and Spain contained an Obligation in Favour of the Pretender*. We have not his Authority for it only, but the Assurance of a certain Gentleman in Parliament, that he *knew*, and was *absolutely convinced* of the Truth of This. We had the *Addressees* of the whole Kingdom justly inflamed on this Occasion. We had his Excellency Mr. *Isaac Lebeup's* vigorous Remonstrances at the Diet of *Ratisbon*;

tisbon, in the very Teeth of the *Emperor*, concurring in and affirming the same Charge. Nay, we had still much greater Authority, even Authority from the *Throne*; for, did not his late Majesty declare that* he had *certain and undoubted Intelligence* that it was resolved to attempt an *Invasion* of these Kingdoms, in Consequence of a *secret Article* to this Purpose? And, was not the *Imperial Minister* ordered to depart the Kingdom, in a very abrupt Manner, for denying any such *Engagement* or *Design* in his Master's Name? And after all these repeated *Affurances*, after all these extraordinary Steps, are we fallen so low as to acknowledge that we had *Apprehensions only that there might be such Engagements*?——If this *Scribbler* takes upon him to advance Facts of less Consequence, he may depart from them (as he generally does, when *Expedients* are wanting) without hurting any Body; but in Affairs of this high Nature, he ought not to meddle, let who will be his Instructor, without good Grounds and sufficient Authority.

For my Part, I was always willing to believe (for the Honour of his *late Majesty* and the *British Nation*, as well as out of Regard to *Those*, who drew, or advised, or approved *that Speech*) that we had something more than *bare Apprehensions* to justify us in such *Declarations* and *extraordinary Proceedings*; for the *Honour of the Crown* is a Thing of a very sacred Nature, and ought not to be trifled with on any Occasion, or made an Instrument to serve *ministerial Purposes*.

King *James the first* observes very justly (in a *Speech* to his Parliament, in the first Year of his Reign; which is, perhaps, the *best* he ever made) *that Speeches from the Throne should be plain and sincere*. By Sincerity, says he, *I mean that Uprightness and*
Honesty,

Vide his Speech at the Opening of the Session in 1727.

Honesty, which ought to be in a King's whole Speeches and Actions ; that as far as a King is, in Honour, above his Subjects, so far should he strive, in Sincerity, to be above them all ; and that his Tongue should be the true Messenger of his Heart.

Yet *this King*, at the latter End of his Reign, was drawn in by *Buckingham* to make a false Representation of the *Spanish* Affair to his Parliament ; which had its Effect so far, as to make *Buckingham* a little popular for the present, at his Majesty's Expence ; but as soon as the People found themselves imposed upon, they gave no Credit to the *Assertions* and *Assurances* of this *lying Minister* any more.

Nay, we have a much later and more remarkable Instance of the Effect of any supposed Endeavours to *prostitute the Honour of the Crown* ; for it cannot be forgot that a *certain Gentleman* thought fit to make it an *Article of Impeachment* against the late Earl of *Oxford*, that he had *corrupted the sacred Fountain of Truth*, and put *Falshoods* into the Mouth of Majesty, in order to obtain the *Sanction of Parliament* to his *traiterous Proceedings*.

I hope this Digression, upon so important a Point, will not be thought unseasonable. But I now return to the *provisional Treaty*.

If it is really true, that the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain* did enter into *all, or any of these dangerous Engagements*, I could wish to see them *formally renounced and annihilated* ; for I still think that a solemn Cassation of the *Treaties of Vienna* would secure these our most important Interests more effectually than is done by the *fore-mentioned Articles*, that leave them upon the precarious Foot of *former Treaties*, which we have already found *ineffectual* to these Ends.

For, when different Interpretations have been put upon the same *Treaties* by different Powers ; when *Objections* have been started on both sides ; when *contrary Claims and Pretensions* have been made, and embroiled

embroiled *Europe* for several Years ; what other effectual Method can be used to secure us against the like Disputes and Disturbances for the future, than finally to adjust the Sense of such Treaties, and confirm the respective Rights, Privileges and Possessions of the Powers concerned, in the *plainest, most direct and explicate Manner* ?

And if the Powers, with whom we are concerned, do really understand *these Articles* in the same Sense, which the *Pamphleteer* hath put upon them, why should they refuse to make us easy by a *particular Explanation* ? Or, if they do actually refuse This, is there any Room to doubt, that they have some Reasons for preferring *dark and ambiguous Terms* ?

But it may be objected, says the *Pamphleteer*, that I have mispent my Time and Labour, in endeavouring to silence the Clamours, which have been raised against that particular Form of a Peace, which hath been the Object of our late Negotiations, since it does not appear that the King of Spain is disposed to accept even of these Terms. Why truly That is a very material Objection, and may arise perhaps from a determined Resolution of his *catholick Majesty* not to come to any Terms with us, after what hath passed, without obtaining his favourite Ends.

He tells us indeed but two Lines before, in his usual self-contradicting Stile, that none of the Powers concerned have hitherto given just Cause to conclude that they will reject it. Now, methinks, where there is an apparent Disposition not to accept, there is some Cause to conclude that they will reject it ; but whatever Reasons there may be against it abroad, I am sure there are many at home.

It is, at best, by his own Confession, only a *Plan* or a *Project*, which is not yet accepted. But let us suppose it *accepted*, for Argument Sake. Nay, let us go farther, and, for Argument Sake likewise, suppose it to be a *good one* ; the Question will still return, whether we have taken the *shortest, the least dangerous, or*
the

the *least expensive* Methods to accomplish it. But to glory in *Measures*, which have not *succeeded*, whether commendable or not, and have only a *bare Probability of Success*, is certainly very extraordinary.

Lastly, let us examine this Affair with respect to the Time we have been about it. The *Pamphleteer* indeed says, and seems to triumph upon it, that, this Progress towards the *Establishment of a general Peace* hath been made in a few Months, after the Opening of the Congress. But how much Time, as well as Money, did we spend in *Expeditions, Embassies, Negotiations, Preliminaries and Ratifications*, before the Congress was opened? Nay, though we date the present Disturbances but *three Years* back, it is certain that we have not been in a State of *perfect Amity*, and *free Commerce* with Spain for above these *seven Years* past; but by the great Sagacity and Penetration of certain Gentlemen (to say nothing of *secret Service-Money*) we have at last, according to *this Writer*, some Hopes of being, one Time or another, in almost as good a Condition as we were in, before our Affairs were thus embroiled.

This puts me in mind of Sir *Epicure Mammon*, in the *Alchymist*; who, when he had spent his *whole Estate* in search of the *Philosopher's Stone*, was comforted after all his *Cost*, though disappointed of his *main End*, with the Hopes of getting a *little something to cure the Itch*.

He tells us, at the Conclusion, that *this Nation* never acted a Part more suitable to its Dignity and Character; and that to the *Firmness and Fidelity of our Allies*, and to these *Measures* we owe our present *Tranquility*. I shall say nothing of that *glorious Part*, which we have been lately acting; nor of the *Firmness and Fidelity of our Allies*. I neither know what they engaged to do, nor what they have actually done for us. But to boast of the *present Tranquility*, when we are at best only in a State of *political Purgatory* between
Peace

Peace and War; when our *Ships* are every Week taken, as in *Time of War*; when we are at all the *Expences*, and under almost all the *Inconveniencies* of a *War*; to talk and boast of *Tranquility*, I say, at such a *Time*, must either be an egregious Banter on the *Ministry*, or an Insult on the *Nation*; and let the *Pamphleteer* take his Choice.

I have but one Thing more to mention, before I conclude; which is, that the Author of this wretched Pamphlet hath the Insolence to make the *regal Character* subservient to his Designs. Whatever *Measures*, or whatever *Conduct* he finds it necessary to approve, are the *King's Measures*, and the *King's Conduct*. This is a mean Artifice, which hath been constantly practiced of late by these Men, when other Arguments are wanting. But I hope it will not put a Stop to your Enquiries; for every *Englishman* hath a Right, by our Laws, to judge and debate these Affairs; and I am sure *his Majesty* will abhor the Thoughts of abridging this Liberty, though *weak* and *wicked Men* endeavour to screen themselves under the Protection of his *sacred Name*.

I am, S I R, &c.

A.

W. RALEIGH.



T H E
CRAFTSMAN
EXTRAORDINARY.

Containing an

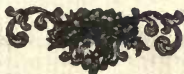
A N S W E R

T O T H E

*Defence of the Enquiry into the Reasons
of the Conduct of Great-Britain.*

In a LETTER to CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

By JOHN TROT, Yeoman.



L O N D O N :

Printed in the YEAR, MDCCXXIX.

THE
GREAT
EXTRAORDINARY

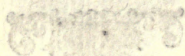
AND
NEW

TO THE

OF THE
OF THE

OF THE

OF THE



LONDON:

Printed by J. Smith, in the Strand.



T H E
CRAFTSMAN Extraordinary, &c.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Nor can we conceive a more abject Servility of Conduct, than for a People, so long famed for Commerce and Bravery, to see their darling Good, and their peculiar Glory, the Pledge of their Liberty, and Life of all their Property, just going to be forcibly and unrighteously torn from them; and tamely to look on without one Struggle for so great a Blessing, or one hearty Effort against the Invaders of it. What can we become, if we give our Consent to such Ruin by our own supine Indolence and Insensibility; and suffer our selves to be stript of our boasted Strength and Ornament at once; but a Nation, the most despicable of all Nations under Heaven; exposed to the Contempt and Insults of the World about us here below, and render'd utterly unworthy, by our own Conduct, of the Care of Providence above us.

ENQUIRY, Page 86.

Mr. D'Anvers,



S soon as I heard that the Author of the *Enquiry* had condescended to take Notice of a *Letter*, which you thought fit to publish in your *Journal* of the 4th of *January* last, I resolved to make my Acknowledgments to him for so great an Honour, and to desire you to convey them into the World. This Duty should have been discharged immediately, if I had not been diverted from it by Avocations of a very different Nature; and if I had not observed, on a Review of the present Dispositions,

ons, that there was no Reason in force to make a very speedy Reply necessary. What I am going to say now will, I think, justify me for what I have said already, in the Opinion of Mankind; and at least in the secret Thoughts even of the *Author* and *Defender* of the *Enquiry*; and as this Effect of the little additional Trouble I am about to give myself is the principal, nay, the sole good one, which I dare expect, we are in Time for That, and by Consequence I shall not lose my Labour by my Delay.

This *Author* hath thrown several Matters in my Way, to which it is proper I should say something before I enter into That, which is strictly the Subject of our present Dispute.

He declares upon this Occasion, with all possible *Seriousness*, that *he bath not writ, or dictated, or advanced; or, directly or indirectly, had the least Part in the writing or publishing any Paper, which bath appeared in the World, in any Form, from the Time of writing the Enquiry, and for some Time before That, to the 20th of January 1728-9.* He makes this Declaration, and for that Space of Time, particularly *with a View to Papers printed in the London Journal; in all which he bath been utterly unconcerned either directly or indirectly.*

Far be it from me to question the Truth of so solemn a *Declaration*. I give entire Credit to it; and I freely own that he hath Reason to complain of *Me* for insinuating, at least, that he had a Hand in the *London Journals*. The little Share I have had in the *Paper War* hath not given me many Opportunities of knowing the *Combatants*; and the Productions, on *one Side*, gave me little Curiosity to enquire after the *Authors* of them. But I found it universally affirmed, and no where contradicted, that *this Gentleman* had a Hand in the *weekly Papers* just mention'd. The Persons, who recommended *these Papers*, countenanced the Opinion; and were glad, perhaps,

perhaps, that so *considerable* a Name should give them an *Authority*, which might supply whatever else they wanted. Nay, I found amongst Those, who were acquainted with *this Author*, and who profess a particular Regard for him, Some, who were *angry* at him on this very Account; Some, who were *sorry* for him; but none, who doubted the Truth of the Fact. What may have given Occasion to so general a Concurrence, He can best tell. I urge these Circumstances only to shew, how I was led into an Error. It was indeed *Error*, not *Malice*. But still I think myself obliged to take this Occasion of asking his Pardon; and I do it *with all possible Seriousness*, as he made his *Declaration*, and from the Bottom of my Heart; because I am as much convinced, that he neither *abetted*, *encouraged*, nor *paid* the Authors of *these Papers*, as I am that he was not himself the *Author* of them.

It cannot be imputed to me, that I have any Thing to answer for, on Account of the *personal Severities*, which *this Author*, in a very pathetick Manner, complains of. We must acknowledge, and we ought to lament, that our *publick Papers*, have abounded in *Scurrility*. One would be tempted to imagine, that the *Saturnalia* were held all the Year round in *Britain*; for Those, who can do nothing but *rail*, have had their Encouragements to *write*; and I am persuaded that *this Gentleman's* Candour will oblige him to confess, that nothing but a thorough *Contempt* hinders Complaints from being made against the Writers of his *own Side*, much better grounded and supported by much stronger Instances, than he can produce against the Writers of the *opposite Side*, in his *own*, or in any *other Case*. For my Part, I should be extremely sorry to have it said of me, with Truth, that I had *railed* at any Author, instead of answering, or even in answering his Book; and less than any would I be guilty of this Crime, for

such it is, towards *One* who defends, with so much Uniformity of Conduct, the *Liberty of the Press*, that *Corner-Stone* of *publick Liberty*. He, who will support *what hurts himself, because he thinks it the Support of the whole Liberty we enjoy*, shall meet with nothing from me, but That, which he deserves from all Mankind, the utmost Respect, whenever he leaves me the Power of shewing it, consistently with the Regard I owe to *Truth* and to my own *necessary Defence*.

He will not, I hope, think it inconsistent with this Respect for his *Person*, or with That, which I have for *some of his Writings*, if I cannot bring myself up to have the same for his *Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great-Britain*; or for his *Defence of this Enquiry*. He appears to have a paternal Fondness for the *first* of these Treatises, which amounts even to a *Partiality*; the more surprising, because it is found in *One*, who can boast so *numerous* and so *fair* an *Offspring*. I should not have attempted to draw him out of an Error, which he seems to indulge with so great a Satisfaction, if he had not made it necessary for me. Since he hath done so, I will offer some Observations on the *Enquiry* itself, before I come to the *Defence*.

The Circumstance, upon which he seems to triumph a little, (that the *Enquiry* was not *answer'd*) he will permit me to say is often a very equivocal Proof of the *Merit* of a Book. The same *Mouths*, it seems, *which pronounced the Enquiry to be a mean and despicable Performance, have more than once express'd in Print their earnest Desire that some able Hand would answer it*. From what Mouths he took This, I know not. But surely the Testimony of Those, who desired some *able Hand* would answer what they judg'd to be *mean and despicable*, is an odd Testimony for him to quote; since it could proceed from nothing but a Design to *ridicule Him*.

Though

Though the *Enquiry* was not answered in *Form*, yet I believe that several, perhaps all the Points, on which his System lean'd, were occasionally examined, and sufficiently refuted by you, Mr. D'ANVERS, and by Others. If no more was done, I take the Reason to have been plainly This. The ministerial Air of *Authority* and *Information*, assumed in it, made even Those, on whom this Air did not impose, judge that it was prudent to wait till *Time* and *Events* should open the Scene a little more; and as the Scene opened, they perceived that the *Enquiry* was daily answer'd, in the most effectual Manner, to their Hands; so that the Author might have waited all his Life, perhaps, for *something more of this Sort*, if he had not thought fit to seize an Opportunity of *defending* it, not more worthy his Notice, than several others before given him; and if my Respect for him, and my Desire to stand fair in his Opinion, had not determined me to make him a *Reply*.

As to the *Effect* of the *Enquiry*, which he thinks so considerable, that it *awakened Multitudes out of a dull and languid State into Life and Vigour*; and that it was not found to procure *Slumbers* either to Those, who liked it, or to Those, who disliked it; I, who was most certainly one of Those, who either *liked* or *disliked* it, can affirm with the greatest Truth, that if it did not *procure me Slumbers*, it did not *keep me awake*. Some of the *Facts*, advanced in it, were strange and surprizing; but then they were destitute of any *Proof*, except the strong Affirmations of the *Author*, and Collections of *Circumstances* so extremely *trivial*, that they became *burlesque*, as soon as they were seriously applied. A bare Exposition of any real Danger from the *Pretender* would have *waked Multitudes into Life and Vigour*, tho' the *Enquiry* had never been written. But I apprehend that so many Pages spent on *Wh——n's Rambles*, *Rip——da's Chit-chat*, *Hear-says* of what one great Man writ

concerning what *another great Man* said, *three Muscovite Ships* coming to *Spain*, *Embarkations*, which were never made, and *Armies*, which were never assembled, could have no other Effect, than to compose Multitudes into *perfect Tranquility*, and to confirm the Opinion of their *Security* on *this Head*. Any Surmises of an Engagement, on the *Emperor's* Part, to assist *Spain* in the Recovery of *Gibraltar* by Force, could provoke no Indignation (whatever else it might provoke) nor cause any Alarm. We knew *Gibraltar* to be impregnable to the *Spaniards*, before *Rip—da* declared it to be so; and what Assistance the *Emperor* could give them towards reducing this Place, unless he had in his Service some of *Mr. WALLER's winged Troops* and *Pegasean Horse*, we were not able to discover. As to the *Emperor's* real Engagement in *this Article* towards *Spain*, and as to the Engagements of *Spain* towards the *Emperor*, on the *Article* of trading to the *West-Indies*, we soon knew what they were; and with this Knowledge our Alarm ceased. What was said in the long Dissertations, about the *Ostend Company*, caused likewise little or no Emotion in us. Our Interest was plainly not That of *Principals*, till the *Dutch* had the Address to make us so, by their Accession to the *Treaty of Hanover*; and the Conduct of our own Court, who beheld, with so much *Indifference*, the Rise and Progress of *this Company*, had taught us to be *indifferent* about it. These Considerations and many others, which I omit, hinder'd the *Enquiry* from having the *Effect*, which *this Gentleman's* paternal Fondness makes him believe it had. The Part, if I may have leave to say so, was *over-acted*. But still I see no Reason that he has to be concerned, because one Way or other the *End* of writing it was answered. The *Enquiry* was the *Book of a Day*, like some little Animals on the Banks of the River *Hypanis*, which came

to Life in the Morning, fullfilled all the Ends of their Creation, and died before Night.

There is a Point, on which the *Author* and *Defender* of the *Enquiry* values himself and his Book very much; I mean the strict Regard to *Truth*, which he assures us he observ'd in writing. Now tho' I am ready to agree that *this Author* has always a great Regard to *Truth*, yet I affirm that I could write a Book as big as the *Enquiry*, fill'd with nothing but Demonstrations of his *Errors* in Matters of Fact. Too much Confidence in the Informations he received, too much Haste in composing, and above all that Fire, which is apt to over-heat the Imagination of *polemical Writers*, must have caused these Errors. It is impossible to account any other Way, how a Gentleman of *nice Honour*, *remarkable Sincerity*, and even *exemplary Piety*, instead of making his *Propositions* constantly the Result of the *Evidence* he found, upon a thorough Examination, true, should, through a whole Book, have constantly suited his *Evidence* to a *certain Set of Propositions*; and how *Facts* and *Dates*, as *stubborn Things* as they are in the Hands of *other Men*, should grow soft as Wax under *his Touch*.

But it is not my Design to enter into a Disquisition of this Sort. It would shew ill Nature, which I hope I have not; and it would be now of no use whatsoever. I must however *defend my self*, as unwilling as I am to *offend him*; and therefore since he contradicts what I said, *viz.* that *he had been given up in every material Article of the Enquiry*; I think my self obliged to prove it. *How easy are such Words as these*, says our Author, *but how hard to support them?* Now I do assure him that *these Words*, as far as they may be thought *harsh* or *impolite*, will at no Time fall easily from my Tongue or Pen; but he will find that it is easy for me, upon this occasion, to *support* them. I will confine my self to the *four great Points* of Danger, arising from the *Vienna Treaties*, and mention'd

tion'd already. Let us see whether he has been *given up* in them or not.

According to the *Enquiry*, we were in Danger of losing not only our *East* and *West-India Trade*, but many other Branches of the *British Trade*, by the Privileges *supposed* to be granted to the *Emperor's* Subjects, and from the Enjoyment of which Privileges we are debarr'd. Nay, it was very strongly insinuated that even the Ruin of *Britain* was involved in this Point. If This had been the Case, and if the Treaty of *Vienna* had thus settled the Matter, there would have been occasion for all the Outcries, which we meet with in the *Enquiry*, and for still more. But our most knowing Merchants *gave up this Point*, as soon as they read and consider'd the several Clauses; and it is notorious that the contracting Powers declared, as soon as they heard of the Objection, that their Meaning was not to give these Privileges to the *Imperial* Subjects above other Nations; and that they would *explain* the Text accordingly, if any *Ambiguity* made it necessary. But in Truth there was little or no *Ambiguity* in the Matter, except what the Representations of it occasion'd; for without entering any deeper into it, let us observe that the *Answers*, which this Author gives to the *Objection*, which he was forced, from the Notoriety of the Thing, to make to himself, are *evasive* and *fallacious*; for since the same Liberty of entering the *Spanish* Ports in the *West Indies*, in case of Distress by *bad Weather*, or for *Refreshment*, is granted to us by the Treaty of 1670, as is granted to the *Imperial* Subjects by the Treaty of *Vienna*, does it follow that more is granted to *Them* than to *Us*; because the *Liberty* granted to us hath *ceased* for many Years? If we have not made use of the *Liberty*, the Fact affirm'd is nothing to the Purpose. If we have been denied it, such Denial is an Infraction of the Treaty of 1670, and proves that we have had Injustice done us by the Practice of the
Spa-

Spaniards ; but doth not help to prove that we have had any done us by their Concessions to the *Emperor*, with *whom* they may keep this *Article*, perhaps, as little as they have done with *Us* ; and *who* is not likely to have the same Means of obliging them to it as *We* have in our Power, whenever we please to employ them.

How the *eighth Article* of the *Treaty of Utrecht* came to be quoted, on this occasion, is to me marvellous. That *Article* is made general to *all Nations* ; but was particularly directed against the *French* ; who, even at that Time, continued to obtain Licenses to send Ships to trade in the *South-Sea*, as they had done all the War. But the *Treaty of Utrecht* confirms the *Treaty of 1670* ; and the Stipulation, that *no License, or any Permission at all shall, at any Time, be given to the French, or any other Nation whatsoever — to sail, traffick, &c. t. the Dominions subject to the Crown of Spain in America*, cannot surely be construed to deprive *Us* of the Right of going into *those Parts*, in the Cases allow'd by the *Treaty of 1670*. This seems so clear, that I may pronounce the *Gentleman given up, on this Head*, by the most knowing Merchants, and by every Man, who can read and understand what he reads.

But I may go farther ; for it appears even from the 5th *Article* of the *provisional Treaty* itself, (which is laid to secure us from the *dangerous Engagements* contain'd in the *Treaties of Vienna*, with relation to *Trade*) that the King of Spain never understood to grant, by the said *Treaty*, any *Privileges contrary to the Treaties confirmed above* ; nor to give to his Imperial Majesty any greater *Advantages than Those enjoyed by other Nations in their Commerce* ; his Imperial Majesty adopting for his Subjects the above-mentioned Declaration, made in the Name of his Catholick Majesty. And it is very observable that *this Article* seems to be inserted in the *Treaty*, merely upon the *Surmises*

of the Ministers of *France, Great-Britain and Holland*, who have *PRETENDED* (as it is said in the *Introduction* to it) *that in the Treaty of Commerce, concluded at Vienna, on the 1st of May, 1725 — there were divers Clauses, which clash'd with Articles of several Treaties of Commerce, anterior to the Year 1725, &c.*

If therefore the *natural Sense* of the *Vienna Treaty* itself, as well as the *Declaration* of their *Imperial and Catholick Majesties*, as soon as the *Objection* was first started, and their *Offer* to remove any *supposed Ambiguity* in *this Article* of the *Vienna Treaty*, were not sufficient to satisfy us; what farther Satisfaction shall we receive by the *provisonal Treaty*, in case it should be accepted, which contains only the very *same Declaration*? — But This hath been sufficiently explain'd already by your Correspondent *Raleigh*, in the last *Craftsman* extraordinary.

As to the *Ostend Trade*, he thinks that I my self cannot be against him, *unless in the Degree of the Importance of it*. Now This is the very Point, upon which he must be *given up*, in this Case, if he is *given up* at all. I never heard that any Man was wild enough to affirm that the Trade, carried on from *Ostend*, was of *no Consequence whatever* to us. But the Question is, whether *that Trade* be of that *Degree of Importance* to us, which he represents. He asks, *who of Those I oppose hath declared against him in This*? I answer, the very Person I quoted in the Passage he had before his Eyes, when he ask'd this Question. He says, in the *Enquiry*, that *our East and West-India Trade will be ruin'd by the Ostend Company*; that *they are so already, in some Degree*; that *the Contagion will spread to other Branches*; in short, that *this Trade will carry Riches, Strength, and naval Power from Us to the Spanish Netherlands*. What says *Publicola*? *The Ostend Trade, about which such a Noise hath been made* (He must mean by the *Enquirer*, since the

En-

Enquirer made more Noise about it than all the other Writers put together) *was more the Concern of our Neighbours, both by Treaty and Interest, than our own.* I appeal now, in my Turn; and I appeal to the *Enquirer* himself. Is not *one* of these Representations directly contrary to the *other*? Does not *Publicola* diminish the Consequences of the *Ostend Trade* to us, and treat it even lightly? Does not *He* magnify it, in the strongest Terms, and make our *All* depend on the Obstruction of it? Does not *Publicola*, an Author whom I oppose, *give him up*?

We are now come to the Danger, much insisted upon in the *Enquiry* *, of *having Gibraltar wrested out of our Hands by Force, (if it be possible) unless we will basely yield it up*; and this Danger is grounded on a supposed † *mutual Engagement* between the *Emperor* and *King of Spain*, contained in a *secret offensive Treaty*. The *Writer* of the *Enquiry* confesses, that the *Imperial Resident* read to some of our *Ministers the Words, which he said were the Contents of the Article, which his Master had entered into, relating to Gibraltar; the which implied, that his Master had engaged to use his good Offices for the Restitution of Gibraltar.* Now from hence, because this *Resident* read all that related to *this Point*, and did not shew the *whole Treaty* to us, any more than we thought ourselves obliged to shew to the *Imperial Ministers the Treaties of 1721*; (which we made at *Madrid* with one of the Parties, between whom we were at that Time *Mediators*, in the Congress at *Cambray*;) from hence, I say, the *Writer* I am answering concludes that the Truth of what he imputes to the *Emperor* stands confirmed; but this *offensive Alliance* hath appeared hitherto no where, except in *his Writings*; and the

Article, relating to Gibraltar, in the defensive Alliance between the Emperor and King of Spain, is surely as contrary as possible to all that he hath advanced. By that Article it appears, that the Spaniards affirmed a Promise on our Part to restore Gibraltar. In Consideration of this Promise, the Emperor declares he will not oppose this Restitution, if it be made amicably ; that if it be necessary, he will employ his good Offices, and even his Mediation, if the Parties desire it. Till therefore the Enquirer can shew another Article between the contracting Powers in the Vienna Treaties, about Gibraltar, This must be reputed the sole Article of that Kind, and by Consequence a flat Contradiction to all, that he hath said on this Occasion ; so that if his own Side do not give him up in this Case, both They and He will be given up, I fear, in the Opinion of every other Man in Europe ; to which I shall add (since the Observation lies fairly in my Way) that every Man, who knows any Thing of the Interest of Europe, knows it is as much the Interest of the Emperor, that Britain should keep Gibraltar, as it is the Interest of one of our Allies, that we should lose the Possession of this Place ; and yet we have been taught, by some profound Statesmen, to apprehend the Emperor's Efforts to take it from us, and to rely on the Assistance of France to preserve it to us.

I have reserved to the last the greatest of all those Dangers, which are represented in the Enquiry ; and That is the Danger of the Pretender.

It is there affirmed, * *that one express Article of the Alliance, between the Emperor and Spain, contained an Obligation in Favour of the Pretender, and a Stipulation to make the Attempt for him in England, before opening the War in any other Parts. Nay, this Author was so well informed of all these Proceedings, that he gives us the particular Engagements, which*

the *Pretender*, in return, took towards the *Emperor* and *Spain*. All these Things are asserted in the strongest Manner, as founded on *positive Intelligence*; on *Intelligence from more than one Person*; on *undoubted Intelligence*, and such as could be entirely depended on. Now I suspect that the *Enquirer* would think me very impertinent, if I should seem to question the *Authority* of his *Intelligence*; and yet I verily believe, that I have better Reasons to do so, than he had to depend upon it, when he writ the Words I have quoted. But we will wave saying any thing more on a Point, on which it is proper for *neither* of us to *speak plain*. His good Opinion of the *Intelligence* communicated to him will not give it the Stamp of *Infallibility*; nor will my *bad Opinion* destroy its *Credit*. The World will therefore judge, or rather has judged, of the *Validity* of what he does not explain, by the Force or Weakness of the *other Circumstances*, which he enlarges upon; and by observing whether the Course of *Events* has justified this boasted *Intelligence* or not. I have just mentioned above the chief of *these Circumstances*; and notwithstanding the great Respect I have for *this Author*, nothing shall oblige me to treat them more seriously. I will shew him however, that the Course of *Events* hath destroyed all the *Use* he pretended to make of these *Circumstances*, and that it has contradicted, instead of confirming his *Intelligence*. He says, * that *the vigorous Resolutions taken, and the Preparations and Dispositions made by Great-Britain, suspended the Execution of this Design*. The Spaniards found themselves obliged to send Part of their Ships from Cadiz and St. Andero to the West-Indies; and the Muscovite Ships returned home.—Very well! The Event does not yet justify the *Intelligence*; but That is accounted for. The Execution of the Design

* Page 51.

was suspended for the present. The Design went on then; and the Preparations for an Invasion by Consequence. It must have been so; for we find in the Enquiry †, that the Design thus suspended was afterwards prevented by the Appearance of a British Fleet on the Spanish Coast. Now let me desire you, Mr. D'Anvers, to take the Trouble of turning to Sir John Jennings's Letter, dated August 10, 1726, and made publick here; in which you will find the Spaniards so little prepared to invade us, that when he came on their Coast, they seemed to be in the greatest Consternation; that all the Troops they could assemble did not exceed three thousand Men; and that These were in very bad Condition.

I ask now, is the Intelligence of the Enquirer, upon this Head, supported by any Thing but his own Affirmation? Is it not contradicted by the whole Course of Events? Does there appear the least Reason to believe that he had a sure Foundation to build upon, when he made such bold Assertions, and of such a Nature? The secret offensive Treaty, which he talks so much of, has never appeared, nor any Footsteps of it; and many People are apt to believe that it never existed any where but in some People's luxuriant Fancy. The several Treaties made at Vienna in 1725, between the Emperor and Spain, have been long publick; and when it was observed, some where or other, that nothing was contained in them like what the Enquirer had asserted, the Enquirer was given up. He was said to be mistaken. The Article, in favour of the Pretender, was said to be in some other Treaty; and afterwards in no formal Treaty. It was not a Treaty. It was an Engagement. This may be called, by some ill-bred People, *buffling*; but sure I am that it must pass for a direct giving up of this Author; who will

find, perhaps, if he pleases to enquire into the Particulars of what passed on this Occasion, that the Person, who gave him thus up, had some Share in setting him to work.

After This, it is hardly worth Notice, that the Author of the *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain* has given him up likewise; for the utmost, which this *Writer* ventures to say, when he comes to speak of this Engagement, asserted by the *Enquirer* to be contained in an Article of a *Treaty*, is This; our *Apprehensions* were that there might be Engagements in favour of the Pretender. Let the *Enquirer* consider again, whether I was in the wrong to advance, that he had been given up, even by his own Side.

Having justified what I presumed to advance, concerning the *Enquiry*, I come now to the *Defence* of it.

The Gentleman begins this *Defence* by stating the Case (so he calls it) as he did in the *Enquiry*; and then he proceeds to take Notice of what hath followed since the Date of that Book; that is to say, he represents the Matter in Dispute, just as it suits his Purpose; leaving out many Things necessary to set the whole in a true Light; asserting some Things, which have been never proved; and others, which I think never can be proved; making what Insinuations, drawing what Conclusions he thinks fit; and, in a Word, begging the Question in almost every Line. It is hard to conceive for what Purpose This is done. The Reason given, I am sure, is not a good one; since the principal Facts and Reasonings, upon which the Strength of all that can be said must be founded, are so far from seeming to be forgot, that they seem to be the only Things remember'd, or thought of at this Time, and are the common Topicks of almost every Conversation. There must therefore be some other Reason for this Method of Proceeding; and I can guess but one. This Method may perhaps be

thought proper to catch unwary Readers, and to give a particular Bias to their Minds, with which they are to read and to judge of all that follows. I could make use of the *same Art*; and, without being at much Pains, draw up a *State of the Case* very contrary to That, which he hath drawn, and at least as *plausible*. But I think the Proceeding too unfair to copy after it. I have indeed no Reason to do so; since, very indifferent to all other Considerations, I seek nothing in this Dispute, but the Discovery of the Truth; and therefore, as I will receive nothing but what is supported by the Evidence of *Fact*, and the Force of *Argument*, so I will not presume to attempt imposing any Thing, void of *both*, upon others. Besides, *this Gentleman* undertakes to *consider what I have advanced, either against any Thing, in which he can be supposed to be concerned; or upon any Subject of Debate, (of this Debate he means) which appears to him to be of Importance*; so that if I am able to refute all that he objects to me, in the *Defence of this Enquiry*, I refute all Objections, of any *Importance*, to what I have said in my *former Letter* to you; and then I imagine that his *State of the Case* will do Him no great Honour, and his Cause little good.

The first Point, on which I am attacked by the *Defender of the Enquiry* is, on *the Turn*, (so he calls it) which I have given to *the very Beginning of this whole Scene*. He means the *Vienna Alliance*.

Let us see therefore whether it is *He* or *I*, (for one of us may, perhaps, have done so) who hath endeavoured, in treating this Subject, to turn every Thing to the Service of some *other Cause* than That of *Truth*.

In the *Enquiry*, he represented the *Vienna Alliance*, as to the Manner, and as to the Matter of it, to be one of the most astonishing *Phænomena*, which ever appeared in the political World. What Surprise to see two Princes, Rivals almost from their Infancy, two Powers, that could hardly be kept within the Bounds

of common Decency towards one another, privately running into one anothers Arms, as he expresses himself? What a Surprize to see the Emperor abandon the Mediation of Great-Britain and France; to the first of whom He and his Family owed so many Obligations; and to the last of whom, in Conjunction with the first, he owed the Acquisition of Sicily, and the other Advantages of the Quadruple Alliance? What a Surprize to see Spain abandon this Mediation, just in the Moment, (as my Adversary has extreamly well observed) when the Interests of the Duke of Parma were in Agitation; Interests, which Spain had extreamly at Heart; and in the supporting which, she had Reason to think herself sure of Success against the Emperor; because the Mediators had taken secret Engagements with her to favour these Interests, by one of the Treaties made at Madrid in 1721? What a Surprize to see Spain do This, and in doing it, not only forego the Advantages, which the Mediators had procured and were to procure for Her, in many Respects; particularly in that favourite Point, the Succession of Don Carlos; but make so bad a Bargain for herself at Vienna, that the Emperor, according to this Author, and indeed I think according to the Truth, gained every Thing, and particularly the Guaranty of his own Succession?

All This, it must be confess'd, appeared wonderful, and excited a strong Curiosity to know what were the Springs of so great, and, according to these Representations, so sudden a Revolution of Counsels and Interests. But here we were dropp'd. The Enquirer spent much Time, and took much Pains to shew what *did not occasion it*; but I have not observed, that he pretended to shew what *did*; unless he meant, that we should take, for Causes of it, those terrible Designs, which he imputes to the Emperor and the King of Spain. Our M——rs, who seem to have foreseen so little that France and Spain might break; and that

the *Negotiations*, then on Foot, might be thrown into Confusion, or take some new Course, by this Rupture; grew it seems prodigiously alert and sagacious afterwards. They did not *foresee* what happen'd; but they discover'd strange Mysteries of Iniquity, conceal'd under this Transaction, when it *had* happen'd; and these Mysteries we find pompously unfolded in the *Enquiry*, with all the *Improvements* and *Embellishments*, which the Author's *luxuriant* Fancy could bestow upon them. Now supposing these Discoveries to have been real, the Things so discover'd can be look'd upon no otherwise than as Circumstances of the general Measure; the Measure, which the *Emperor* and *Spain* took, of treating by themselves and for themselves; and therefore they wanted to be accounted for as much as the Measure itself; but upon this Head, I say, the *Enquirer* gave us no Satisfaction. Far from explaining to us what might induce *Spain* to take such a Resolution; at that particular Point of Time, rather than at any other; he did not afford us the least Hint to guess, why she should take it at all; and yet so strange an *Effect* must have had some very considerable *Cause*; too considerable certainly to be absolutely a Secret, and even beyond the Reach of Conjecture.

This remarkable Defect was, I believe, felt by every Person, who read the *Enquiry*; and therefore, in the Progress of the Dispute, the Writers of the same Side thought it incumbent upon them to assign some *Cause*, which might appear proportionable to such extraordinary *Effects*; and which, at the same Time, might not be inconsistent with what their great Master, the *Enquirer*, had advanced. The Task was not easy; and indeed they have succeeded accordingly. Some laid the *Cause* of all in that *inveterate Rancour*, which they supposed the Court of *Spain* to have conceived against us, on two Accounts; the Promise made by Lord *Stanhope* about *Gibraltar*, and the

the Defeat of the *Spanish Fleet* in the *Mediterranean*. When This was exploded, and I think it was so as soon as examined, they had Recourse to another System ; a very strange one indeed ; for it declares that the *Emperor, France, and Great-Britain*, the three contracting Powers with *Spain* in the *Quadruple Alliance*, acted the most perfidious Part imaginable in that whole Proceeding ; such a Part as *Ferdinand the Catholick*, or *Lewis the XIth*, would have started at. The Succession of *Don Carlos* was, it seems, * a Point, which all the Powers of *Europe* strenuously opposed ; which the *Emperor*, who had already obtain'd his Desires, in the Affair of *Sicily*, could not be for ; to which the *French* were averse ; which *Great-Britain* had Reason to oppose and prevent ; and which it was plain that the *Spaniards* could never carry in a Congress, where every Party was an Enemy to their Intentions. Surely nothing so extravagant ; nothing so insolent as This was ever yet advanced ! If you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, had presumed even to insinuate any Thing like it, I believe you would have been prosecuted with all the Severity possible ; and I am sure you would have been given up by all your Friends. Neither can I conceive how the *Enquirer*, who is so zealous an Assertor of our Honour in the Observation of *Treaties*, could pass by such an Imputation as This, without darting his Thunder at the impious Head, who devised the Slander ; unless he thinks it an irremissible Sin to account for any Thing in Contradiction to himself ; and a venial Fault to accuse *Great-Britain and France*, as well as the *Emperor*, of something worse than a Violation of *Treaties* ; even of making them with a Design to break them ; and of obliging a Prince, by long Negotiations, and by a War, to accept Conditions, which they never intended should be made good to him.

* *British Journal*, Jan. 4.

Amongst others, I presumed, at last, to account for this great *Event* upon Principles, which I believed to be true, notwithstanding all that I read, in the *Enquiry*; and which I still believe to be true, notwithstanding all that is said against them, in the *Defence of the Enquiry*.

The *Defender* begins with quoting two or three Passages, which relate to the sending back the *Infanta*, and the Point of the *sole Mediation*, out of my *Letter* to you; and then, without disproving the Facts, or so much as mentioning the Argument grounded upon them, he pretends that the whole is hypothetical; and thinks it would be a full and sufficient Reply to me, to *frame a Scheme on the other Side, and to oppose Supposition to Supposition; and one arbitrary Interpretation of Appearances to another*; after which he proceeds to frame *such a Scheme*; partly on Facts, which he would have us believe true; and partly, as he says himself, *from his own Invention*; and This he thinks proper to oppose, in a ludicrous Manner, to the Account I have given.

Now, if it shall appear, on Examination, that I have built upon undeniable Facts, and have reason'd justly, instead of building on *Suppositions*, and giving *arbitrary Interpretations to Appearances*, this *Author's* Smartness will turn upon himself; and, instead of shewing that I deserved no Answer, he will only have shewn that he was unable to give me a good one.

Let us enter into this Examination.

I affirmed, and I do still affirm, that from the Death of the Duke of Orleans, the *Spanish* Ministers were full of Fears and Jealousies about the completing the *Infanta's* Marriage with the King of France. Neither do I find any Thing urged in the *Defence* of the *Enquiry*, to destroy the Credibility of this Fact. Indeed, if it was proper to descend into Particulars of so delicate a Nature, it would not be at all difficult

to demonstrate, from a Consideration of the Change, which was made in the *French* Ministry, and of the Difference of personal Situations, Interests and Views, that altho' there never could have been Room for such Fears and Jealousies as These, while the Duke of *Orleans* had lived, yet there was great Room for entertaining them, under the Administration of his *Successor*. But This is not all. These Fears and Jealousies increased and strengthen'd daily, in the Minds of the *Spanish* Ministers; and if *this Author* pleases to enquire, I believe he will find, or else his *Prompters* deal very unfairly by him, that the Delay and Excuses of the Court of *France* about performing the Ceremony of the *Fiancialles*, which *Spain* expected should have been perform'd soon after the Time, at which the Duke of *Orleans* dy'd, confirm'd, in the highest Degree, the Suspicions already taken. The Ceremony of the *Fiancialles* would have secured the Marriage. What other Effect then could Excuses and Delays in this Affair produce, but That, which I have mentioned?

The *Enquiry* * says, *that the Resolution of the Court of France, relating to the Infanta, did not come, no not in Suspicion, to Madrid, till March 8. N. S. 1724-5.* If he means the particular Resolution of sending her back at such a *determinate Time*, That is nothing to the Purpose, how much soever the Affirmation might impose, when it was made use of at first, and before this Matter had been sufficiently canvassed. But if the Resolution of sending the *Infanta* back, at *some Time or other*; in plain Terms, the Resolution of *not completing her Marriage* with the King of *France*, be meant; then, I say, that I might very justly have set this Assertion down in the List of

Those, which are made in the Book without a strict Regard to *Truth*; for it is undeniably true, that the *Spanish* Ministers, in foreign Courts, entertained this Suspicion above a Year before that Time. It is equally true, that several Months before that Time they spoke of this Measure, as a Thing they expected; and I add, that several private Persons, at least, writ from *Madrid*, in the same Stile, to their Correspondents in other Countries. Of all This I am as sure, as I am sure I now hold a Pen in my Hand; or that a Pamphlet, called a *Defence of the Enquiry*, is now lying before me; and therefore neither the Authority of the *Enquiry*, nor any better Authority can persuade me, that the Suspicion of a Design to send the Infanta back from France did not come to *Madrid* till March 1724-5; because it would be absurd to believe, that the Ministers of that Court were less informed or less jealous about an Affair, of this Importance, than private Persons; or that the repeated Advices, which must have come from the *Spanish* Ministers abroad, made no Impression upon Those at home.

This Fact is, I think, pretty well established; and the others I am to mention will occasion no Dispute. They are These. The *Spaniards* * first took the Resolution of throwing off the *Mediation*, and of treating at *Vienna* in Nov. 1724; and *Ripperda's* full Powers were signed, according to the *Enquiry*, on the 22d of that Month; that is, about a Year after the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*. Soon after This, the *Negotiation* was begun; but the *Treaties*, in which it terminated, were not signed till the last of *April* and first of *May*, 1725.

These, I presume, are *Facts*, and not *Suppositions*. Let it now be considered how I argue upon them; and whether my Reasoning be nothing more than an

* *Enquiry*, p. 15.

arbitrary Interpretation of Appearances, as the Author of the *Defence* hath rashly pronounced, but not ventured to attempt to prove. The Sum of my Argument is This. Since the *Spaniards* expected that the *Infanta* would be, a little sooner, or a little later, sent back from *France*, they expected to find themselves, a little sooner, or a little later, obliged in Honour to shew a due Resentment of this *Affront*; to send back the Princesses of the House of *Bourbon* from *Spain*; and to break off that Correspondence, which had subsisted between the two Courts, from *Spain's* Accession to the *Quadruple Alliance*; and which had been so intimate, during the Life of the Duke of *Orleans*. They could not foresee how long this Rupture might last; because they could not foresee how soon a Change would be made in the *French* Ministry, and Satisfaction be given them for this *Affront*; but they could not fail to foresee, that if this *Event* should happen, during the Congress of *Cambray*, something worse than the *Affront* would follow, and they must remain in the most abandoned Condition imaginable; broke with *one Mediator*; not sure of the *other*; the *Emperor* in Possession of *Sicily*; and the reciprocal Condition, in favour of *Don Carlos*, not effectually secured to them. These Things are so intimately and necessarily tied together, that I can as little discover how it is possible to allow the *first Fact*, which regards the Suspicions and Expectations of the *Spaniards*, and deny the *Consequences*, which follow; as I can see how it is possible to contradict, with the least Appearance of Reason, a *Fact* so publicly known, supported by so many Circumstances, and justified by so many Consequences as the *first* is. The probable Arguments employ'd in the *Defence*, and which, it may be pretended, will serve to prove that though the *Fact* were true, and the Suspicion I have insisted on, was entertained by the Court of *Madrid*; yet that it did not produce the Effects of throwing *Spain* into

into the Engagement she took at *Vienna*, will be considered presently,

Thus far then, as we have a Deduction of *Facts*, not of *Suppositions*; so we have a Thread of consequential Arguments, not a Rhapsody of *arbitrary Interpretations of Appearances*. The Case is fairly stated; and no *imaginary Scheme* is offered to be imposed for *Truth*. The Probability, which results from this State, is confirmed, and I think turned into Certainty by the *Event*. By the State above-mentioned, it was probable that *Spain* would take Measures, in Time, against the Distress, to which she must foresee that she stood exposed. Accordingly, *the Spaniards began to treat at Vienna*, before the *Infanta* was sent from *France*, (which is a Fact allowed on all Hands) *that they might prepare for the worst*; and when I add, *that they delayed concluding their Treaty*, or that the Conclusion of their Treaty was delayed, *till what they feared happened*; what do I affirm more than what my *Adversary* allows? He had said, at first, that the *Treaty of Peace was signed at Vienna, before what Spain feared from France was known there*. He has corrected that Assertion; and has said, *that as the Treaty of Peace was agreed to at Vienna before what Spain fear'd from France was known at Vienna to have happened*; so it was signed before the Refusal of Britain could be known there; that is, the Refusal of the sole Mediation. The first Point then is yielded to me. The *Spaniards* did not actually sign at *Vienna*, till the News came thither, of the *Infanta's* being actually sent from *France*; though they had settled and agreed their Terms with the *Imperialists*, on the Knowledge that she would be sent away. On the second Point, all that I urged, as Fact or Argument, stands in the same Force it did before; for I desire *this Author* may not be indulged in a Liberty I shall never take with him, nor any one else; the Liberty of carrying my Affirmations, by strained Constructions,

ens, farther than the plain and natural Import of the Terms I employ.

In Opposition to *Publicola*, I shewed that the Manner, in which he affirmed the Treaty of *Vienna* to have been signed before the Refusal of the *Mediation* was known there, did not refute *Raleigh*; on Account of some *possible Circumstances*, there mentioned. Now *this Author* has been forced to leave the Proof, drawn from those *possible Circumstances*, just as he found it. *There is no Proof*, says he, *but the bare Possibility here insisted on*. I say more. The Argument is as strong against *Him*, as against *Publicola*; for even after the Advantages taken over *Publicola*, for not expressing himself clearly, *this Author* has, for Reasons easy to be guessed, expressed himself in a Manner liable to the same Objection. The Peace was signed, he says, *before the Refusal of Britain could be known*. What! before it could be known by *certain and direct Intelligence*; or before it could be known in *Form*, after the tedious Round, which this Resolution was to take? That is not explained; and yet That was the single Point, on which any Thing could be said to the Purpose. In short, we pursued, with great Steadiness, our wise Maxims of neglecting *Spain*, and of adhering closely to *France*; insomuch that Those, who wished us no Good, were perhaps heard, when they insinuated that, far from contributing to ward off a Blow so much apprehended by *Spain*, we privately abetted *France*, in her Design of breaking the *Match*, and imagined by that Measure to establish an irreconcilable Quarrel between the two Courts. The *Spaniards*, as well as the *Imperialists*, had Reason to believe, from our whole Conduct, that we should not accept the *sole Mediation*, which had been offered to us; and was it then strange that the *former*, neglected by *Us*, provoked by *France*, should press the signing *this Treaty*, without waiting long for our Answer; or that the

Emperor, who got so much by the Bargain, should consent to it ?

Having been thus led to the Affair of the *sole Mediation*, which I had hitherto omitted to speak of, in order to avoid Confusion, I shall consider it here, as far as *this Author* has made it necessary for me. In my Letter to you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I dwelt a good deal upon it. I placed it in every Light, and debated all the Merits of the Cause, as well as I was able. Now, if what I urg'd was absurd and nothing to the Purpose, *this Author* should have shewn, in general, that it did not deserve a more particular Answer. If what I urged was clear and strong, as some People imagine it was, *this Author*, who declares himself, in every Point, of a contrary Opinion, should have had the Goodness to examine and refute my Arguments. How it happens I know not ; but this great Master of *polemical Writing* hath, in every Instance, upon this Occasion, avoided to enter into the Argument. He hath dwelt on the Outside of Things, and hath generally cavill'd at Circumstances.

I have just now given a strong Instance of This ; and I lay hold of the Opportunity to tell *this Gentleman*, that I am no Apologist for *Spain*, tho' he endeavours to fix that Character upon me by an *Innuendo*, so very fine, that I was for some Time at a Loss to find out his Meaning. I neither sounded to Arms against the *Spaniards*, two Years ago ; nor am, at present, an Advocate for bearing their *Delays* and their *Insults*. I neither aggravated, two Years ago, the *Depredations* and *Hostilities* committed in the West-Indies, by the *Spaniards* ; * and those *Violences*, by which the whole Commerce of *Jamaica* hath been well nigh destroy'd, and the Trade of that Island reduced to

* Enquiry, p. 60.

a miserable Condition ; nor do I now soften in their Favour, and call these Outrages and Losses by the gentle Name of * *Inconveniencies attending a State of Uncertainty.*

But to return. Having given an Instance of *this Author's* cavilling at Circumstances not material in the Dispute ; I shall now give some Instances of his affirming over again, by way of Answer, what had been refuted before ; and when I have done This, I shall have taken Notice of all that he says, upon the Subject of the *sole Mediation.*

First then he says, that *the Knowledge of the Negotiations going on at Vienna* was a just Reason to decline this Offer, which he supposes to have been a *mere Piece of Mockery.* But he does not so much as pretend to say a Word, in answer to what I insisted upon, as an Advantage in accepting this *Mediation*, even supposing it offer'd to us without any Design that we should concern ourselves in it. He does not pretend so much as to controvert what I urged, to prove that the worse Opinion we had of the Designs carried on at *Vienna*, the more Reason there was to catch at this Offer of the *Mediation.*

Secondly, he insists, that we could not accept this *Mediation*, with a due Regard to our *Alliance with France* ; and he supposes, that this Reason will be thought just by *all Those, who do not think the Breach of Faith, and the Violation of Treaties, Matters of no Concern.* Here again is another charitable *Innuend.* But let it pass. It would be easy to strengthen all that was said, on this Subject, in my *Letter* to you, by shewing the Difference between such a Stipulation as This of a *joint Mediation*, and the Covenants, which Princes and States enter into with one another, about their

* Defence, p. 13.

mutual Interests. But there is no need of it; since *this Author*, who thinks fit to insist on this Point, hath not thought fit to answer any one of the Arguments, urged by me, to prove that *France* could not have complained of us, if we had accepted this *Mediation*; and yet there were some Dilemma's laid down, which seemed to deserve a Solution.

Lastly, he pretends that I affirmed, *against the most publick Facts, and the plainest Appearances*, what I said to shew that our Acceptance of the *Mediation* must have been agreeable to *France*; and yet what I said was founded on *publick Facts, and the plainest Appearances*; which he has not touch'd, because he durst not deny them. It is really very strange, that so considerable an *Author* should continue to write, when he can neither find out *new Arguments*, nor answer the Objections made to *old ones*.

Having now dispatch'd the Point of the *sole Mediation*, it remains that I say something to those *probable Arguments*, (if they deserve that Name, which I have civilly given them) by which *this Gentleman* pretends to destroy what is, I think, establish'd on the solid Foundation of *Fact* and *Reason*, concerning the Measure taken in *France*, after the Death of the late Duke of *Orleans*, to break the Match with the *Infanta*, and the Consequence of that Measure, the throwing *Spain* into the Hands of the *Emperor*.

Now the *first* of these Arguments is, that the Court of *Spain* did not mention this *Affront* from *France*, as any Inducement to the Transaction at *Vienna*; and that any such Mention would have been inconsistent with other Declarations made to Mr. *Stanbope* at *Madrid*. Very well. It is then an establish'd Rule, that we are not to believe a Court has *Motives* for their Conduct, which *Motives* they do not own; altho' we have the strongest Reasons imaginable to believe such *Motives true*. Another Rule, which *this Author* would do well to establish at the same Time,
and

and which is founded on as much Reason as the former, is This; that we are to believe all the *Motives*, which a Court thinks fit to give out, to account for their Conduct; altho' we have the plainest Proofs imaginable that these *Motives are false*. Such Logick as This was never introduced into *Politicks*, I believe, before; and I am persuaded that you, Mr. D'Anvers, will excuse me, if I spend no Time in answering it. Let me desire you however, before I leave this Argument, to turn to the 13th and 14th Pages of the *Enquiry*, where you will find that the *Enquirer* says, the *Imperial Ministers* at *Cambray*, at *London* and at *Paris*, talk'd the very Language, which the *Defender* of the *Enquiry* says the *Spaniards* were always ashamed to make use of *. Nay, the *Enquirer* adds, that, upon the first publick News of the *Vienna Treaty* at *Madrid*, the *Discourses* of many were taught to run that Way, and to dwell upon that same popular Topick.

The second of these Arguments is This. If the News of sending back the *Infanta* from *France*, and of *Great Britain's* refusing the *sole Mediation*, had both come to *Madrid*, before *Ripperda* was sent from thence; even This could not have really been, and would not have been pretended to have been the Motive of what was afterwards done at *Vienna*. And why, pray? Because when the News of our refusing the *sole Mediation* did come, the Court of *Spain* acknowledged it to be a *reasonable Proceeding*. This, you see, is built on the Principles laid down in the last Article, and deserves no farther Notice. But on the News coming to *Madrid*, that the *Infanta* was sent home, he confesses that the Court of *Spain* might, by such Circumstances, be induced to try what

honourable Terms the Emperor would come to. This Concession goes farther than he is aware of; for I desire to know if it is reasonable to believe that *Spain* would have treated with the *Emperor*, when the Case had happen'd, why it is unreasonable to believe that *Spain* did begin to treat with him on almost a certain Prospect that the Case *would happen*; which is the great Point we have been contending about? Ay, but *Spain* would not have treated with the *Emperor* to hurt *Holland* and *Britain*, because *Spain* had been hurt by *France*; nor would the *Emperor* have entered into a *Treaty* to hurt *Them*, who had no Part in the Affront to *Spain* and never injur'd the *Emperor*. Again; much less would the King of *Spain* send a Minister to *Vienna* to enter into and finish *Treaties*, which should hurt other Nations, upon a Suspicion that *France* would hereafter affront him. I could make several Reflections on some of the Expressions in this Place; and on the Turn, which the Author takes, of putting some very odd Arguments into my Mouth; and, what is still more, into the Mouths of the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*. But I forbear; and content myself with saying two Things, which will effectually blunt the Point of all the Wit employed in this Paragraph, and fully answer the Whole of what is said farther, upon this Subject, in the *Defence* of the *Enquiry*.

First then; as far as I am from being, or pretending to be, a *Master in Politicks* (which *Degree* this Writer seems to have taken long ago) I never imagin'd that the *Affront*, consider'd meerly as an *Affront*, precipitated *Spain* into all the Engagements she took with the *Emperor*; though, by the Way, he mistakes very much, if he thinks, as he says, that he may deny new fresh *Resentments* to determine the Conduct of Princes, exactly upon the same Grounds, as I have denied that old stale *Resentments* have this Effect.

What

What I imagin'd, what I said, and what I proved was, that this *Affront*, considered as a necessary Breach with *France*, at least for a Time, would throw *Spain* into such Circumstances of Distress, as she was to prevent by all possible Means; and that therefore *Reason of State* determined in this Case; though no doubt the *Affront*, at the same Time, provoked the *Spaniards*. Thus I am consistent with my self; and the *Author* might have spared himself the Trouble of writing this *elaborate Paragraph*, if he had adverted to my Sense, instead of playing with my Words.

Secondly; as to the *Emperor*, our *Author* is guilty of begging the Question; for the *Emperor* will insist, as he has insisted, that his Engagements were not Engagements to injure any Body; that he entered into no *offensive Alliance*; and that, when he exacted from *Spain* the Guaranty of the *Ostend Trade*, and of his *Succession*, he exacted the Guaranty of nothing but of That, which he judges he has an independent Right to establish and secure. As to *Spain*, it will be likewise said, that when his *catholick Majesty* treated with the *Emperor*, he never meant to hurt other Nations, but to secure his own Interests; that if his Guaranty of the *Ostend Trade* hurts the *Dutch* or *Us*, he is sorry for it; but could no more avoid that Engagement than he could several others, extremely disadvantageous to himself, and into which he was however obliged to enter; because he was obliged to purchase the *Emperor's Alliance* at any Rate; that therefore we must not blame him, who opposed the Establishment of the *Ostend Company*, whilst he could do it, without any Support from *Us*; who never gave his Guaranty to it, till he was forced to do so, by the *Necessity* of his Affairs; into which *Necessity* he was falling for above a Year together, without seeing the Hand of *Britain* once stretched

stretched forth to hinder it. Such Answers as These would certainly be given; and, in the Mouths of the *Imperialists* and the *Spaniards*, they would be just.

If, after all that has been said *this Gentleman* is unable, upon my Notions, to account for the King of *Spain's* resolute flying from the *Mediatorship* of *France*, I am sure it is not my Fault. A few *Sacrifices* did indeed help to pacify *Spain*, and to reconcile her to *France*; and a few *Sacrifices* might, for aught I know, have reconciled our Quarrels; or, which is better, have prevented them. But as no one can foresee now when such *Sacrifices* will be made here; so neither could *Spain*, at the Time when she sent to *Vienna*, foresee when such *Sacrifices* would be made in *France*.

Upon the whole Matter, and to conclude this tedious Article; if the Way, in which I have endeavour'd to account for the Resolution taken by *Spain* to abandon the *Mediation* of *Cambray*, and to treat at *Vienna*, be not right; I should be glad to know what the right Way is. No other, which *this Gentleman*, or any reasonable Man will venture to support, has been yet pointed out. But I apprehend the Account I have given to be a just one; because it is built on *Fact* and *Reason*; because the *Event* hath, in every Respect, confirmed it; and because it shews not only why *Spain* broke with *France*, and apply'd to the *Emperor*; but why *Spain* enter'd into these new Measures, after the Death of the D. of *Orleans*; which it cannot be pretended she ever thought of doing, while that Prince was alive. If now this Account be a just one, many melancholy but useful Truths result from it.

But I need not point out these Things. The World will discover them, without any Help of mine, and will judge how well the *Enquiry* hath been vindicated.

vindicated, by the *Author* and *Defender* of it, upon *this Head*.

The next Point, upon which my *Reasonings* and *Imputations* are to be tryed at his *Tribunal*, is That of *Gibraltar*; and here he sets out, by *accusing* me (not in *Terms* indeed; but in a Manner almost as plain) of *Lying*; of direct, *premeditated Lying*. I will keep my Temper, tho' a Field large enough is opened to me; and tho' the Provocation is not a little aggravated by the *solemn Air*, with which this *Accusation* is brought; by the Pretences to *Patience*, and *Meekness* and *Candour*; and by all the *Appeals to God*, with which my *Accuser* hath, in several Parts of *this Treatise*, endeavour'd to captivate the good Opinion of Mankind, and to establish his *own Reputation*, that he might make sure of ruining That of *others*. He calls to my Mind the Character of *Mopsus* in *Tasso's Aminta*.

——diquel Mopso

Cb' à ne la lingua melate parole,
E ne le labra un' amichevol ghigno,
—— ——— e il Rasoio

Tien sotto il manto.

I will have the Decency not to translate the Verses into *English*.

It is not necessary that I should say much about the *Jealousies*, which *this Author* seems to complain arose at one Time, lest *Gibraltar* should be given up or artfully betray'd into the Spaniards Hands; nor about the *vigorous Defence* of it, which was made afterwards. Thus much however I will say, that when Sir *John Jennings* was called home, with all the Troops embark'd on Board his Squadron, just before the *Siege*, and even from the Neighbourhood of *Gibraltar*; when the *Spaniards* were suffered, under Sir *Charles Wager's* Eyes, to transport by Sea many Things necessary for the *Attack of the Place*; and when it was known that the Town wanted almost

almost every Thing necessary for the *Defence* of it, People stood a-gaze, and not without Reason. The Cries of the Nation precipitated at last the *Supplies*; and the Vigour of the Garrison made a glorious Use of them.

I come now to the Accusation, brought against me by *this Writer*. I said, in my *Letter* to you, that the *Spaniards* ground their present Claim to the Restitution of *Gibraltar* on a *private Article in a Treaty, made with them in 1721, stipulating the Contents of a Letter to be written by the late King, and on the Letter, written in pursuance of this Article*. This is the Fact. The *Accusation* is, that there is no such Article in the *Treaty*; and many Words are employ'd to cut off all Pretences of Excuse, and to pin the *Lye* upon Me. Now I desire it may be observed, in the first Place, how very exact and knowing a Critick *this Gentleman* is; who, after pronouncing with so much *Emphasis*, that *he hath read the Treaty himself, and finds no one Article belonging to it, which hath the least Relation to this Subject*, proceeds to mention the *Treaty*, and quotes a *wrong one*. No Man would have imagined that such a Stipulation could have been supposed to be in the *defensive Alliance* between *Great-Britain, France and Spain*, of the 13th of *June, 1721*, who had known that there was a distinct *private Treaty*, of the same Date, between *Great-Britain and Spain*. But This it seems was a Secret to my *Accuser*; tho' the *Treaty* had appeared printed in the fourth Volume of *ROUSSET's Collection*, when he committed this Mistake. It was of *this Treaty* I meant to speak; and the Reason why I express'd myself in that Manner was This. I have had some Years by me an *Extract* of this very *Treaty*, which was long kept a great Secret, and for the keeping of which Secret there is an *express Provision* in the sixth Article of it. When the *Treaty* became publick, I found that my *Extract* of the several *Articles* was exact;
and

and therefore I gave the more Credit to the *separate Article*, mentioned in the same *Extract*, as belonging to this *Treaty*, and stipulating the Contents of a *Letter* to be written by the *late King*. The *Letter* I never saw ; but the Account I have had of it by Those, who have read it, agrees with my *Extract*. All This induced me to think that there was such a *separate* and more *private Article*, belonging to this *private Treaty* ; nor was I at all surprized to see the *Treaty* come abroad without *this Article* ; knowing full well that *Treaties* often appear, when the *secret Articles* belonging to them do not.—This is a true State of the Case ; and will, I believe, sufficiently justify me for what I writ. But I have not yet done with my *Accuser*. Let it be, that no such *private Article*, as I was led to suppose, does exist, or was ever executed. Will he venture to say that no *such Article* was drawn up, as he expresses himself about the *Treaty of Pacification* ? Will he venture to deny that if our *Ministers* were afraid to sign *such an Article*, and therefore did not sign it, the Reason, on which the *Spaniards* were induced to recede from this Point, was that *something equivalent* should be done ; and that this *something* was his late *Majesty's Letter* to the King of Spain ? I appeal, in my Turn, to the lowest Observer, as well as the highest, Who hath gone about to deceive Mankind ; *this Author* or *I* ; *this Author*, who conceals from the World what he knows, or might know, with all the Means of Information, which he has in his Power, and what sets the Matter in quite another Light than he hath represented it ; or *I*, who, having not the same Means of Information, fell into an undesigned Mistake ; which does not alter the *State of the Case*, in favour of my Argument ; since if the *Spaniards* accepted this *Letter*, which was writ in lieu of the *Article*, which was not sign'd ; their *Pretensions* (and nothing but their *Pretensions* are under Consideration here) will be still the same.

As to the *Letter* itself; what I affirm about it is, that the *Spaniards* pretend it is a *positive Engagement* to restore *Gibraltar* to them. That This should be allowed them, I am as far from agreeing as *this Author* can possibly be; but that the *Letter* is sufficient to keep up their *Pretensions*, I affirm; and that in Fact they do keep up their *Pretensions*, on this Foundation, is notorious. Was *this Gentleman* to dispute the Point with the *Spaniards*, he might comment as much, and distinguish as subtilly as he pleased, on the Terms of the *Letter*; the *others* would insist, that it was given them as an *Engagement*; that if they had not received it as such, they would not have departed from the *Article*; and I doubt they would be apt to insinuate that we could not have found a more *proper Casuist* than himself, to distinguish us out of our Obligations, amongst their own *Schoolmen*, or amongst all the Sons of *Loyola*.

To speak seriously; it were to be wished extremely, that the *Spaniards* had not had this Colour for persisting in their Demand of *Gibraltar*; or that it had been by an express and clear Stipulation taken from them; since it is certain that the *Right and Possession* of *Gibraltar* is nothing less than *ascertained* to Great-Britain by the *Preliminaries*, as they stand; and consequently that all Claim of Spain to it again is not extinguished.

I contradict him in his *own Words*, though none of the *propereest*; and I will prove, in what I am going to say, either that he does not at all understand the Matter he talks so magisterially about; or that he attempts, in this Instance, to deceive the World, by giving wrong Interpretations to some Things, and by concealing others.

If then, although the *Letter* of the late King hath given the *Spaniards* a Pretence to claim *Gibraltar*, this Claim is effectually barred, and even extinguished by the first general Words of the *second Article* of the
Pre-

Preliminaries ; how comes it to pass that *Gibraltar* was not *specifically* mentioned, in order to prevent any future *Chicane* ? It will be said, I know, that as the King of *Spain's* Accession to the *Quadruple Alliance* vacated any Promise, which my Lord *Stanhope* might have made ; so the King of *Spain*, by consenting to these *Preliminaries*, has vacated any Engagement of this Kind, which the *Letter* may be supposed to contain ; and I, perhaps, shall be quoted again as one, who must necessarily see the Force of this Argument. But this Author must not judge of my Eyesight by his own ; for I see a manifest Difference between the two Cases. My Lord *Stanhope's* Promise is said to have been *conditional* ; all allow that it was *verbal* ; and I think it is allowed likewise, that the late King never confirmed it. The simple Accession of the King of *Spain* to the *Quadruple Alliance*, might therefore be thought very justly sufficient to put the Matter, at that Time, out of all Dispute for the Reasons given by me, and quoted by this Author. But when the *Preliminaries* were to be settled, the King of *Spain's* Claim to the *Restitution* of *Gibraltar* rested on an Engagement, or what he took for an Engagement, enter'd into by the late King, and under his Majesty's own Hand. Besides, this Engagement, or Promise, whether valid or not valid, had been insisted upon as valid, in a formal Treaty, and had been made the Foundation of the second Article in the defensive Alliance between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, which relates to *Gibraltar*. It required therefore something more to put an End to a Claim, founded in this Manner, than to a Claim, founded on any Promise that my Lord *Stanhope* could make. These Considerations could never escape the Penetration of that most able Minister, who negotiated the *Preliminaries* ; and therefore I conclude, first, that the Spaniards would not consent that *Gibraltar* should be mentioned specifically in the second Article ; and, in

the next Place, that they could refuse to consent to it on no Reason whatever, but this one, that their *Pretensions to Gibraltar* would be kept alive, if it was not mentioned *specifically*, notwithstanding the general Words, so much insisted upon by *this Writer*. He has not therefore answered my Demand; nor shewn in the Preliminaries an Article, which is indeed as express and effectual a Confirmation of our Right to Gibraltar, as if the Word Gibraltar had been put into it. But he goes on, and observes, that the latter Part of this second Article greatly strengthens the former; because it is there stipulated, that if any Thing shall have been altered with respect to Rights and Possessions, or not have been put in Execution, the Alteration made, or the Thing not executed, is to be discussed in the Congress, and decided according to the Tenor of the said Treaties and Conventions; that is, in his Sense, according to the Tenor of the Treaty of Utrecht, and of the Quadruple Alliance; for he mentions no other, except That of Baden, which hath nothing to do here. Now, says he, nothing, either as to the Right of Great-Britain to Gibraltar, or to the Possession of it, hath been at all altered; nor hath there been any non-execution, &c. From whence he infers, that our Right to Gibraltar is not included in this Description of Points left to be discussed in the Congress. But how could he avoid seeing that he assumes for granted the very Thing disputed? No Alteration hath been made in our Right to Gibraltar, says he; therefore this Right cannot be discussed. An Alteration hath been made in this Right, say the Spaniards, by a private Engagement taken with us in 1721; therefore this Alteration is to be discuss'd at the Congress. Who doth not see, that whether this Right shall be found to have been altered, and what the Alteration imports, are by this Preliminary to be discussed and decided at the Congress?

I think,

I think, I have now shewn what I undertook, and what *this Gentleman* challenges me to shew; that is, I have shewn *those general Words in the Preliminaries*, upon which the *Spaniards* may found a Pretence for reviving their Demand of *Gibraltar*; or, to speak more properly, since they have never ceased to make it, for continuing this Demand. But I have undertaken something more; and therefore will proceed to shew what this Gentleman was ignorant of, or what he concealed very unfairly, because it is *decisive* against him.

I think he could hardly be ignorant that the *second Article* of the *Preliminaries* not only recalls the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and the *Quadruple Alliance*, as he quotes the *Article*, but likewise all *Treaties and Conventions, which preceded the Year 1725*; which *latter Words* he does not quote. Perhaps, he judg'd them unnecessary. If he did so, he was much mistaken; for by the *5th Article* of the *Treaty* of *1721*, between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, it is declared, that all the *Pretensions* of both sides, touching *Affairs not exposed in the present Treaty*, and which *Pretensions* are not comprehended in the *second Article* of it, shall be treated of in the *future Congress*; which was at that Time the *Congress* at *Cambray*. Now let it be observed, that the *Affair* of *Gibraltar* is not one of the *Affairs exposed in this Treaty*. Let it be observed also, that the *Pretension* of the *Spaniards* to *Gibraltar*, is not one of the *Pretensions* comprehended in the *second Article* of it; and then let any Man deny, if he can, that, in the *Intention* of *Spain*, these Words were relative to the *Pretension*, which she acquired by the *private Engagement*, taken in the *Letter* so often quoted. If the *Letter* gave her a Right, as she insists, it gave her a *Pretension* certainly to claim that Right, and this *Pretension* is carefully preserved by the *Treaty* of *1721*. I do not say among *other Pretensions*; for I think I may venture to say that all *other Pretensions*

are specified in the *Treaty*; even That relating to the free Exercise of the *Roman Catholick Religion* in *Minorca*; and therefore these Words seem to have been singly applied to the *Pretensions* of *Spain* on *Gibraltar*. Will not the *Spaniards* now insist, upon these Foundations, that they enjoy'd, in 1721, a Right to demand the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, by Virtue of *Conventions* then made; and that the *second Article* of the *Preliminaries* preserves entire, to all the *contracting Parties*, whatever *Rights*, as well as *Possessions*, they had by Virtue of any *Treaty* or *Conventions*, antecedent to the Year 1725; and that therefore the first general Words of the *second Preliminary* preserve to them the Right of demanding the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, as a Right acquired by *Conventions* made before the Year 1725; whilst the last general Words of the same *preliminary Article* preserve this Right as an Alteration made in the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* and in the *Quadruple Alliance*?

How little Weight soever the *Defender* of the *Enquiry* may allow to these Observations, which would I doubt have some in a *Congress*, yet he must allow that they ought not to have escap'd him, or to have been conceal'd by him; since they do certainly affect the Merits of the Cause, on which he has so positively pronounced Judgment, without any Regard to them. But I am almost ready to ask your Pardon, Mr. *D'Anvers*, for saying so much on this Point, when there is another more clear, and more decisive still behind. Is it possible our *Author* should never have heard of a certain publick Instrument, containing a Declaration explanatory of the *Preliminaries*, made by the *French Minister* at the *Pardo*, on the 4th of *March*, 1728, and accepted and confirm'd by himself, and by the *Imperial, British, Spanish, and Dutch Ministers* on the 6th of the same Month? If this Instrument hath ever fallen into his Hands, and it is in every Body's else, did he never read these Words in
it.

it, that all Pretensions, on all Sides, shall be produced, debated, and decided in the same Congress? The Disputes about Contrabands, and other Complaints made by the Spaniards concerning the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and the Disputes about the Restitution of Prizes, which Articles are taken Notice of in the Introduction to this Instrument, are, by particular Clauses in it, referr'd to the Discussion and Decision of the Congress. To what Purpose then were these general Words inserted? To what Purpose was it stipulated that all Pretensions whatsoever (among which the Pretension of the Spaniards to the Restitution of *Gibraltar* must necessarily be included; since, whether ill or well founded, it is still a Pretension on their Side) shall likewise be referr'd to the Congress; and that his *Britannick Majesty* shall be obliged to stand to what shall be decided upon the whole? But I forbear to press this Matter any farther upon the Gentleman; since it would be, in some Sort, like stabbing him on the Ground.

I proceed to the Article of blocking up the *Galleons*; which is the last, upon which I am attack'd in the *Defence of the Enquiry*. And here I must observe again that he is very far from entering into a Refutation of the Arguments advanced by me to prove, that seizing the *Galleons* was a Measure liable to no Objection, and in every Respect preferable to That of blocking them up. He observes indeed, upon Mr. *Hosier's* Letter, that the Treasure had been taken from on Board the *Galleons*, when our Squadron arrived before *Porto Bello*. Now, without making any Reflections on the Intelligence brought from on Shore to the Admiral, and taking it for granted that all this Treasure was in Time removed out of his Reach; it will still be true that this Circumstance proves nothing in Defence of the Measure taken to block up the *Galleons*, and not to seize them; since whether they would have the Riches on Board them or not,

when Mr. *Hoyer* should arrive, could not be known, when his *Instructions* were drawn. If all these Riches had been actually at *Porto Bello*, when he came thither, he would have had, in Effect, nothing more to say to the *Spaniards*, than what the Orders they had received ten Days before from *old Spain* imported ; which was, that they should secure the Money in the Country.

The single Point, insisted upon to justify this Measure, and which the *Writer* pronounces to be *sufficient*, is that the contrary Measure, That of *seizing the Galleons* in Port, with all their Treasure on Board, if it had been practicable, would *have put Europe into a Flame, by putting all the Proprietors of those Riches, whether French, Dutch or Spanish, into the greatest Uneasiness*. At the same Time, he allows that taking these Ships, if they *had attempted, by Force or Stealth, to come out, had been reasonable*. Sure I am it is enough to say in reply to This, that as to the *Uneasiness*, which such a Seizure might have given the *Spanish* Proprietors, it deserved no Consideration ; that the *French* and *Dutch* Proprietors would have believed, or ought to have believed, their Effects as secure in our Hands, as in the Hands of *Spain* ; especially in a Point of Time, when they were, by Treaty at least, engaged on our Side in Opposition to *Spain* ; and lastly, that the Distinction between *seizing the Galleons* at Sea, or *blocking them up in Port*, as if one was, and the other was not an Hostility, is very manifestly a Distinction without a Difference ; to prove which, I dare appeal to every Man in *Britain*, whether he would not esteem the Hostility as great, and the Insult greater, if a *Spanish* Squadron should block up *Portsmouth*, than if it should cruize in the Channel and take our Ships at Sea. The Gentleman cuts the Dispute short, by referring us to the *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain* ; and I shall readily join Issue with him, by referring,

ON

on my Side, to the *Craftsman* extraordinary; in which these *Observations* are fully answer'd, and treated as they deserved to be.

Having mention'd the *Galleons*, our *Author* could not well avoid taking some Notice of a Question I asked, in answering *Publicola*, and which he allows to be very material. His Answers to it deserve a short Reflection or two. *Since the Galleons are coming home, hath Spain renounced those Designs, which our Fleet was sent to the West-Indies to prevent?* Thus he states the *Question*; and his Answer is, *truely I can't tell; nor can any one in the World, who is not in the Secrets of the Court of Spain.* A little afterwards he asks the same Question again; *hath the King of Spain renounced his Projects*; that is, those Designs which our Fleet was sent to the *West-Indies* to prevent? His Answer is, *yes undoubtedly, as far as Articles ratified by him can bind; and as far as any contracting Powers can be bound by Treaty to one another.* Let us see what is urged between the *first* and the *second* asking of the same *Question*, to produce such a wide Difference in the *Answers*. The King of *Spain* hath ratified the *Preliminaries*, in Consequence of which the Siege of *Gibraltar* is raised. Orders are sent to restore the *South-Sea Ship*; and he has promised, that the Effects of the *Galleons* shall be deliver'd. He hath therefore *renounced his Projects by Treaty*; but whether he hath renounced them in his Heart; *whether he will go on to act an open and honest Part*, That is more than our *Author* can tell. It is more likewise than any one will desire, that *He* or *Those*, for whom he is an Apologist, should pretend to tell, or be answerable for. But let us see what they are *answerable* for; what has been really done by *Treaty*; what we have obtained to make us some Amends for the rotting of our *Ships*; for the Loss of so many *thousand Lives*, and for the *Depredations* and *Hostilities*, which this *Author*

thor founded so high formerly ; and which were carried on with redoubled Vigour, during the *pacifick Blockade* of the *Galleons*.—The Effects of the *Galleons* are to be delivered. I congratulate the *Dutch* and the *French* upon it ; but especially the *latter*, who have such immense Wealth on board them. Our Share is, I fear, a small one ; too small to bear any Proportion to the *Expence* we have been at, or the *Losses* we have sustained. — Orders are sent to restore the *South-Sea Ship* ; but the Claims of the *Spaniards* either on that Ship, or on any Account, are preserved to them, and referred to a *Congress*, by whose Decision we must abide ; and nothing is stipulated, which may secure to our Merchants a just Recompence for the numberless Seizures and Captures of their *Effects* and *Ships*. — The Siege of *Gibraltar* is raised ; but the Right to the *Possession* of that Place hath not been effectually put beyond Dispute. The Obstinacy and the *Chicane* of the *Spaniards* have prevailed so far, that they preserve, even by the *Preliminaries*, a Pretence for bringing this Right to be decided in the *Congress* ; and I shall be glad to hear what *Ally* we have there, on whose good Offices we can depend for securing to us the Right of possessing, and the Possession of this *important Place*.—Upon the Whole, I am extremely sorry to find, that I was so much in the Right, when I advanced that no Man could say, with Truth, that the *main Things*, in Dispute between *Us* and *Spain*, were yielded to us before the Return of the *Galleons* ; unless he reckoned our keeping *Gibraltar*, and I might have added the procuring Satisfaction to our *Merchants*, not among the *main Things* in Dispute, but among Those of *less Importance*. — I say very sincerely, that I had much rather have been refuted.

It appears, I think, from what hath been said, that the *Author* and *Defender* of the *Enquiry* has not only been

been given up by his own Side, but even by Himself, in several *Particulars* ; and several other Points, which were insisted upon, in the *Enquiry*, and have been disputed in *other Writings*, are either not mentioned at all in the *Defence*, or in such a slight Manner as plainly shews the *Author's* Consciousness that he cannot support them, tho' he is very unwilling to give them entirely up ; so that the *Author* gave a very partial Title to his last Production ; which can be justly call'd, at best, a *Defence* only of some Points in the *Enquiry* ; and is, more properly speaking, a *Recantation* of it, with a few particular Exceptions.

But now, Mr. D'Anvers, what shall I say to you in Excuse for so many and such long Letters ? The best Thing I can say, is to assure you, and I do it very solemnly, that I will trouble you with no more of them. The Gentleman, to whom I have now replied, may enquire and defend, as much as he pleases, without any farther Molestation from Me. When I began to write on this Subject, I meant nothing less than the silly Ambition of having the last Word in a Dispute. I saw, like every other Man, the publick Distress. I thought I discerned the true and original Cause of it. The Affectation, which I observed to turn us off from this Scent, fortified me in my Opinions, and determined me to examine what was alledged against them. I have done so ; and if in doing it, I have contributed in any Degree to open the Eyes of my Countrymen, on their true ; and on their mistaken Interests, I have obtained the sole End, which I proposed to myself. I love and I hate ; I esteem and I despise ; but in a Case of this Moment, I should abhor myself, if any Regard to Persons, any Consideration, except That of Truth, had guided my Hand in Writing.

I began by asking Pardon of this Author for an Injustice, which I have done him through Error, not Malice ;

Mallce ; and I shall conclude with assuring him, that upon whatever Principle he may have treated me, as I think I did not deserve, I lay down my *Resentment* with my *Pen*, and remain in *christian Charity* with him.

I return to the Business of my *low Profession* in Life ; and if I was worthy to advise him, I would advise him to return to That of his *high Calling* ; to feed the Flock committed to his Charge. That I may the more effectually persuade him to take a Resolution so much for his own Honour, and for the Advantage of the Church, I will exhort him to it, in the Words of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, with some very little Variation, in order to render the Passage more applicable.

*SIT autem Episcopus
turpis lucri non quæstor,
præsertim de Gentilibus ;
malitque detrimentum ca-
pere, quam inferre. Non
sit avarus ; non maledi-
cus, non falsus Testis, non
iracundus, non contentio-
sus, non negotiis, liti-
busque secularibus impli-
citus ; non pro alio sponzor,
aut in causis pecuniariis
Advocatus. Non ambitio-
sus, non duplicis sententiæ,
non bilinguis ; calumniæ
& maledicentiæ non cu-
pidus auditor ; non Hypo-
crita, fallaciis vanis non*

“ Let a *Bishop* then
“ not be fond of making
“ his Court for Gain, and
“ especially to the Gen-
“ tiles. Let him rather
“ receive than do an In-
“ jury. Let him not be
“ given to evil speaking,
“ nor to bear false Wit-
“ ness. Let him not be
“ wrathful nor contenti-
“ ous. Let him not be
“ engaged in the Business
“ and Disputes of the
“ World. Let him not
“ be ready to answer for
“ others. Let him not be
“ the Advocate of private
“ Interest in public Cau-
“ utens

*utens. Quia hæc omnia
Deo sunt inimica, Dæmo-
nibus grata.*

Constit. Apostolic.
Lib. II. Cap.6.

*“ ses. Let him not be
“ ambitious, nor double-
“ minded, nor double-
“ tongued. Let him use
“ neither Simulation nor
“ Dissimulation in his
“ Conduct; nor vain and
“ fallacious Sophisms in
“ his Discourse. For all
“ these Things are hate-
“ ful to God, and pleasing
“ to the Devil.*

I am,

Mr. D'Anvers, &c.

JOHN TROT.

The END of VOL. IV.





THE
INDEX
TO THE
Fourth Volume.

A.

ADDISON (Mr.) guilty of libelling *Ministers* in his Tragedy of *Cato*, Page 167.

Adoption (the Roman Custom) recommended, 29.

Advertisements; a Reward offer'd to any Person, who can give Tale or Tidings of an *Infant*, whose Name is *D. Carlos*, 98—*Horace* against *Robin*, a Book so call'd, *ibid.*

Amphicrates (King of *Samos*) abused by wicked *Ministers*, 41—How He was releas'd from them, *ib.*

Ambassadors; our prudent Choice of them, 208.

Ambition (wicked) the Folly of it, p. 229—*virtuous Ambition*, what, *ibid.*

VOL. IV.

C c

Anti-

The INDEX.

Anti-Leviathan; his Letter to Mr. D'Anvers, concerning the *Leviathan*, as describ'd in *Scripture*, 169.

Affassination (of *bad Ministers*) condemn'd, 181—Prejudicial to the Cause of *Liberty*, *ib.*

Aesop; his Fable of the *Horse* and *Stag* apply'd, 37.

B.

B *Ambridge* (Mr.) an Account of his Administration in the Government of the *Fleet-Prison*, 219.

Bishop; Rules laid down for his Conduct in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, 298.

Bohemia (King of) his Case in the Reign of King *James the first*, 155.

Boulephorus; his Letter to Mr. D'Anvers, concerning Mr. *Bambridge's* Administration in the Government of the *Fleet-Prison*, 218.

Bribes; the Mischiefs of them, 23—The Difference between a *Bribe* and a *Pension*, *ibid.*—The bad Consequences of them farther explain'd, 183.—A Speech of Sir *Charles Sidley* against them, 209.

Britain (*Great*) the State of it in the Year 1728, 3—Her Conduct examin'd at large since the Treaty of *Hanover*, 57—The Causes of her late and present Difficulties, 83—An Account of her Conduct in the Reign of King *James the first*, 213—Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain*, &c. 231, &c. In a State of *political Purgatory*, 249—The State of *Great-Britain* and her Conduct, since the Treaty of *Hanover*, farther examin'd; in answer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *A Defence of the Enquiry*, &c. 253, &c.

Buckingham (*Villars Duke* of) an Article of Impeachment against Him for *not guarding the Seas*, 8—An Account of his Conduct, and how He was manag'd by Cardinal *Ricblieu*, 191.

Bur-

The INDEX.

Burleigh (Lord) the Marquis of *Winchester's* Speech to Queen *Elizabeth* against Him, 91—His Memorial to the same Princess against the Earl of *Leicester*, 144.

C.

C*Ampbell* (*Duncan*) his Prophecy of the *Craftsman's* Success, 10.

Captures (of *British* Ships in the *West-Indies*) a false List of them, 237—Remarks upon it, *ibid.*

Carlos (*D.*) a Reward for discovering where He is, 98.

Gibber (*Mr.*) prov'd a *Libeller*, 122—recommended as a *Commissioner* for regulating the *Stage*, 163.

Civicus; his Letter to *Mr. D'Anvers*, concerning the *Course of Exchange*, 87—A second Letter, containing some Observations on the Conduct of the *French* and *Spaniards* towards *England*, 195.

Civility (of the *English Nation*) vindicated, 201.

Coinage; some Reflections upon it, 114.

Colonies; the Advantages of them to this Kingdom, 53—the Condition of the *Dutch* and *French Colonies*, 99—how They are encourag'd, 101—how ours are discourag'd, 102.

Comines (the *Frenchman*) his Observation on the Wars of *England* upon *France*, 217.

Commons (*House of*) some Account of their Proceedings, with Relation to the *Fleet Prison*, 218.

Company (*South-Sea*) the Case of it, with respect to *Spain*, 197.

Correspondence; the different Ways of carrying it on, 41.

Constitutions (*Apostolical*) the Conduct of a good *Bishop* prescrib'd in them, 298.

Corruption; the Mischiefs of it, 22—The bad Consequences of it farther explain'd, 183—A Speech of *Sir Charles Sidley* against it, 209—How the People of *Grimbaggia* are infected with it, 226.

The INDEX.

Courtly (Politick) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, upon the *Civility* of the *English* Nation, in answer to *Horace*, and other Writers, 201.

Court-Writers; an Account of their Conduct, 186.

Craftsman (extraordinary) containing Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain*, &c. 231, &c. recommended by *John Trot*, 294—Another *extraordinary Craftsman*, containing an Answer to the *Defence of the Enquiry*, &c. 253.

Credit (Paper) some Reflections upon it, 107.

D.

D'*Anvers (Mr.)* *Duncan Cambell's* Prophecy of his success, 10 — Reflections on the Arguments of his *Adversaries*, concerning the *Liberty of the Press*, 12 — The *King's Revenue* considerably increased by his Writings, 16 — Prohibited at the *Post-Office*, *ibid.* — Reprimanded for his manner of Writing, 117 — His marks of a *declining Minister*, 127 — Vindicates Himself from the Charge of encouraging *Affassinations*, 181 — Rebuked by *Hezekiah Friendliman*, 199 — Farther Reflections on the writings of his *Adversaries*, 255.

Defence (of the Enquiry, &c.) an Answer to it at large by *John Trot*, 253.

Depredations (of the Spaniards in the West-Indies) Remarks upon them, 232.

D'Estrades (Count) his Character and Report of the Conduct of *Monsieur De Wit*, 176.

D'E Wit (the Pensionary of Holland) some Remarks on his Conduct towards *France*, 176.

Dramaticus, his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, with a Project for regulating the *Stage*, 162.

Dryden (Mr.) a Libeller of *Ministers*, in his writings, 166.

The INDEX.

E.

E *Achard* (Arch-Deacon) his Character of *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*, Queen *Elizabeth's* Favourite, 151.

Ecarob some Account of Him, 228 — sent on a great Embassy, *ibid*.

Elizabeth (Queen) the Marquis of *Winchester's* Speech to Her against the Lord *Burleigh*, 91 — Mr. *Raleigh's* Remarks on her Reign, 134 — A memorial presented to Her by Lord *Burleigh* against the Earl of *Leicester*, 144 — some observations on her Reign by Mr. *D'Anvers*, in Answer to *Publicola*, 160.

Emperor (of Germany) his Case with Relation to the *Vienna Treaty*, 39, 65, 243, 260, 283.

England; an Account of her Conduct in the Reign of King *Charles* the first, 189 — Her peculiar Misfortunes and Disadvantages, in Point of Trade, 196 — The *Politeness* of the *English* Nation vindicated, 201 — some Account of her Conduct in the Reign of King *James* the first, 213.

Enquiry (the Pamphlet so called) a Passage in it apply'd, 37 — An Answer to the *Defence* of it, by *John Trot*, 253 — The *Author* of it purges Himself from the Imputation of having been concern'd in the *London Journal* for some Time past, 254 — Given up, in the most material Articles of his Book, by his own side, 260 — And even by Himself, 296.

Epigram; to a certain Gentleman, who takes the Character of Cardinal *Wolsey* to Himself, 174.

Exchange; the Course of it, in the Year 1728-9, consider'd, 87 — some farther Reflections upon that subject, 112.

Exports; some Reflections upon them, 109.

F. Fable

The INDEX.

F.

- F**able (of the Horse and Stag) apply'd, 37,
Factions; the use of them, 140.
Favourites (at Court) the Danger of them, 144, 158.
Fleet (Prison) an Account of Mr. Bambridge's Administration in the Government of it, 219.
Flota (Spanish) some Remarks on Admiral Hosier's Instructions for blocking it up, 232.
Fidelia; her Letter to the *Craftsman*, with *Duncan Campbell's* Prophecy of his success, 10.
Fleet (English) how manag'd by *France*, 189.
France; to what the present Grandeur of that Kingdom is chiefly owing, 56 — Her late Conduct towards us, 82 — The Encouragement, which she gives to her Colonies and Plantations, 101 — some Account of her Conduct towards *Holland*, 177 — And towards *England* in the Reign of King *Charles the first*, 189 — A *French Man of War* plunders an *English Merchant ship*, 195 — Observations upon it, *ibid* — Our great Indulgence to that Court, in not desiring them to expose their *Fleet* to any Hazards, 206 — famous for observing *Treaties*, 207 — An observation of *Comines* on *France* and *England*, 217 — The Consequences of her sending the *Infanta* back to *Spain* consider'd, 39, 76, 272.
Franking (Letters) some Reflections on allowing that Privilege to the Clerks of the Post Office, 16.
Free-Port (*Charles*) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, concerning our Trade, Colonies and Plantations, 52 — his second Letter to the same, concerning the Dutch and *French* settlements in *America*, 99.
French (Protestants) a noble Instance of *Charity* granted to them, by *Parliament*, in the Reign of King *William the 3d*, 25 — some Reflections upon it; *ibid*.

The INDEX

Frederick (Prince; the Ship so call'd) the *Finesses* of the *Spaniards*, concerning her *Restitution*, according to *Treaty*, 197.

Friendliman (*Hezekiab*) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, 199.

G.

Galleons; the Case of *block'ng them up* consider'd; 60—some Remarks on Admiral *Hofier's Instructions* for that Purpose, 232, &c. — Farther Remarks on the subject of *blocking them up*, 293.

Gibraltar; some Account of the *famous Promise*, for restoring that important Place to the *Spaniards*, 39 — How it ought to be secured to us, 48 — Lord *Stanhope's* overture to *Spain*, concerning that Place, examin'd, 66 — On what the *Spaniards* found their present Pretensions to that Place, 69 — How the Possession of it was secur'd to us by the Project of a *provisional Treaty* in the Year 1728, 242 — Some Remarks on the pretended Engagement, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, for wresting it out of our Hands, 258, 263, 283 — Farther Remarks on the present Pretensions of the *Spaniards* to that Place, 285.

Government; *Tom Tell-Truth's Observations on the Abuses of it, in the Reign of King James the first*, 212.

Grimbagria (the Island so call'd) some Account of the Inhabitants, 226.

Gulliver (Capt. *Lemuel*) his Account of the Island *Grimbagria*, 226.

Gundamor, (the *Spanish Ambassador*) his Conduct in *England*, 154.

The INDEX.

H.

- H***Anover* (the Treaty of) how represented by the *London Journal*, 40 — The Consequences of it fully examin'd, 59.
- Henley* (Orator) some Account of his Discourse on *Fishes*, 169.
- Hilarius*; his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, concerning the *Sequel of the Beggar's Opera*, 117.
- Hobbes* (Mr.) why He calls his *Book upon Government*, *Leviathan*, 173.
- Honour*; the obligation of it upon *Men of Quality*, 29.
- Horace*, against *Robin* (a Book so call'd) 98.
- Horse* (and *Stag*) the Fable of them apply'd, 37.
- Hosier* (Admiral) some Remarks on his *Instructions*, 6 — *Persuasion* recommended to Him, 203 — His Character. *ibid.* — The Reflections of the *Jacobites* on his Instructions, 205 — Farther Remarks on his *Instructions*, 232, &c. — The same Subject farther examin'd, 293.
- Huntington* (Lord) a fine saying of that Nobleman to King *William*, 29 — apply'd to the Case of *Pensions*, *ibid.*

I.

- J***acobites*; their Reflections on our Conduct towards Spain in the *West-Indies*, 205.
- James* (the first, King of England) some Remarks on his Reign, 152 — *Tom Tell Truth's Observations on Abuses of Government in his Reign*, 212 — His just Observations on *Speeches from the Throne*, 246.
- Index* (*expurgatorius*) propos'd for dramatical Writings, 163.
- Inconsistent*, (or *Insensibles*; a People so call'd) some Account of them, 226.

Infanta

The INDEX.

Infanta (of Spain) the Consequences of sending Her back from *France*, 39 — farther considered, 76 — farther, 272, &c.

Informers; their Office and Conduct described, 184.

Informer (honest; a Pamphlet so call'd;) *his observations on Abuses of Government; address'd to King James the first*, 211.

Instrumenta (Regni) what, 182 — a Discourse upon them, *ibid*.

Journal (Daily) an Answer to a Letter, publish'd in that Paper, Jan. 8th 1728-9, relating to our Exports, Coinage, Paper-Credit, &c. 105.

Journal (London) the Author of it guilty of a Contradiction, 17 — Some observations on his Paper against *Raleigh*, 38 — His Aspersions on the Memory of the late Earl *Stanhope*, concerning *Gibraltar*, expos'd, *ibid* — His opinion of the *Hanover Treaty*, 40 — *John Trot's* Remarks upon Him, 47 — A Reply to Him, at large, by the same Author, 57 — Some observations on one of his Papers, relating to *Queen Elizabeth*, by Mr. *D'Anvers*, 159 — The Author of the *Enquiry* purges Himself from the Imputation of having been concern'd in the *London-Journal* for some Time past, 254 — How the former is given up by the latter, in the Case of the *Ostend Trade*, 262.

Journal (British) his Objections against *Raleigh's* Letter to the *Craftsman*, concerning a *Truce*, answered, 30 — His farther objections against *Raleigh* answered, 123 — Reflections on his Conduct and Manner of writing against *Raleigh*, 142 — Charges the contracting Powers in the *Quadruple Alliance* with making *Treaties*, on Purpose to break them, 271.

K.

KER (of *Kerstand*, Esq;) some Account of Him, 184.

Kings;

The INDEX.

Kings; their Duty and Interest explain'd, 145—
Ought to pay the strictest Regard to *Truth* in their
Speeches from the Throne, 246—The Insolence
of joining the *King* and the *Ministers* together, 250.

L.

L *And*; (the *advanc'd Price* of it) to what owing,
106.

Letters; from *W. Raleigh* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, upon
the Project of a *Truce*, 1—From *Fidelia* to the
same, with *Duncan Campbell's* Prophecy of his
Success, 10—A second Letter from *W. Raleigh* to
the same, in Defence of his first, concerning a
Truce, in answer to some Objections against it, pub-
lish'd in the *British Journal*, 30—And the *London*
Journal, 38—From *John Trot* to the same, in De-
fence of *Raleigh*, 47—From *Charles Free-Port* to
the same, concerning our *Trade*, *Colonies*, and *Plan-*
tations, 52—A second Letter from *John Trot* to
the same, in answer to the *London Journal* of *Sa-*
turday, Dec. 21, 1728, 57—From *Civicus* to the
same, concerning the *Course of Exchange*, 87—
From *Charles Free-Port* to the same, upon the
State of the *Dutch* and *French Colonies*, 99—From
an anonymous Hand to the same, relating to our
Exports, *Coinage*, *Paper-Credit*, &c. being an An-
swer to a Letter, published in the *Daily Journal*,
Jan. 8. 1728-9; 105—From *Hilarius* to the same,
concerning the *Sequel to the Beggar's Opera*, 117—
From *W. Raleigh* to the same, in answer to the
British Journal, 123—From the same, to the same;
containing some Remarks on the Reign of *Queen*
Elizabeth, 134—And on the Writings of the *Brit-*
ish Journal, 142—From the same to the same,
containing some Remarks on the Reign of *King*
James the first, 152—From *Dramaticus* to the
Craftsman, with a Project for regulating the *Stage*,
162—From

The INDEX.

- 162 — From *Anti-Leviathan* to the same, concerning the *Leviathan*, as describ'd in *Scripture*, 169—From *W. Raleigh* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, upon the Conduct of *De Wit*, the famous Pensionary of *Holland*, 175—From *Monfieur De la Rufe* to his Brother, concerning the Conduct of *England*, in King *Charles* the first's Reign, 189—From *Civicus* to Mr. *D'Anvers*; with some Observations on the Conduct of the *French* and *Spaniards* towards *England*, 195—From *Hezekiah Friendliman* to the same, 199—From *Politick Courtly* to the same, upon the Civility of the *English* Nation, 201.—From *Boulephorus* to the same, upon Mr. *Bambridge's* Administration in the Government of the *Fleet-Prison*, 218—From *Rica* to *Usbeck*, containing an Account of the Island *Grimbagria*, 225—From *W. Raleigh* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, containing Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain*, &c. 231, &c.—From *John Trot* to the same; containing an Answer to the *Defence of the Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain*, &c. 253.
- Leviathan*; an Account of that Creature, and prov'd from *Scripture* to be an over-grown, wicked Minister, 170.
- Leicester* (*Robert Dudley*, Earl of) a Memorial presented to Queen *Elizabeth* against Him, by the Lord *Burleigh*, 144—Arch-Deacon *Eachard's* Character of Him, 151.
- Libels* (the *Doctrine of them* discuss'd, a Book so call'd) some Reflections on it, 17.
- Liberty*; to what the Loss of it, in most Nations, is chiefly owing, 22.
- Lions*; why *Spies* are so call'd, 185.
- List* (*civil*) the Mischief of running it in Debt by *Pensions*, 25.
- Logick* (*political*) what, 37

Madrid,

The INDEX.

M.

- M***Adrid* (the *private Treaty* of) consider'd, 76.
- Mackbeath* (Captain) some Account of his Adventures in the *West-Indies*, 120—His Death, *ibid*.
- Manly* (Mr.) his Objections to *Raleigh's* Letter to the *Craftsman*, concerning a *Truce*, answer'd, 31—His farther Objections relating to *Gibraltar*, and the Defect of the *Spanish Fleet*, examin'd, 123.
- Marque* (Letters of) the Nature and Advantages of them, 7—Some Observations on the Reasons given for not granting them to our Merchants, 238.
- Mediation* (between *Spain* and the *Emperor*) the Consequences of *Great-Britain's* refusing it, 39—farther consider'd, 75—farther, 274.
- Merchants* (*British*) censur'd for not applying for *Letters of Marque* 7—Remarks on the Depredations of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, 231.
- Ministers*; in what the Conduct of the *British Ministers* is to be commended, 5 — The Danger of their neglecting the Interest of *Trade* and the *Merchants*, 8—The Right of the People to examine their Conduct, 33—*Amphicrates*, King of *Samos*, deliver'd from the Imposition of *wicked Ministers* by a Stratagem, 41—The Conduct of our *present Ministers* examin'd, 58—The Character of a *bad Minister*, 91—The Marks of a *declining Minister*, 127—The Superiority of *Ministers* to *Princes*, 165 —The Character of a *wicked Minister* illustrated from the scriptural Account of *Leviathan*, 170—Why *bad Ministers* ought not to be *assassinated*, 181.—Remarks on the Conduct of the *English Ministers*, in the Reign of King *Charles the first*, 189—The *present Ministers* vindicated against the Reflections of the *Jacobites*, on their civil Treatment of *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, 205—And on their great Indulgence to *France*, 206—The Conduct of
the

The INDEX.

the *British Ministers*, in the Reign of King *James the first*, 214—The Character of a *bad Minister* exemplified in the Conduct of Mr. *Bambridge*, 218—and of *Shamgrigg*, the prime Minister of *Grimbagria*, 227—The Insolence of joining the *King* and the *Minister* together, 250—The Sagacity of our *Ministers*, in discovering the dangerous Designs of the *Vienna Treaty*, 269—And their Conduct in other Affairs, *ib.*

Mopsus ; his Character in *Tasso's Aminta*, 285.

N.

Numb-Fish ; Orator *Henley's* Account of it, 169.

O.

OA K (and the *Dunghill*) some Observations on that Fable, 19.

Observations (on the Conduct of Great-Britain, &c. a Pamphlet so call'd) some Remarks upon it, 231, &c.—The Author of *this Pamphlet* gives up the Author of the *Enquiry*, with Respect to the *secret Article* of the *Vienna Treaty*, in Favour of the *Pre-tender*, 267—And yet recommended by the *Author of the Enquiry*, 294.

Offices ; the Mischiefs, which attend the *Venality* of them, 219.

Opera (Beggar's) some Account of that Play, and the *Sequel to it*, 117.

Osborne (Mr) his Remarks on the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, 136, 160—And on That of King *James the first*, 153.

Ostend (Trade) a Project to suspend it, 244—Some Account of our Interest and Conduct in that Affair, 258, 260, &c.

Oxford (Parker, Bishop of) an Advocate for *arbitrary Power*, 187.

The INDEX.

Oxford (Earl of) an Article of Impeachment against Him, for putting *Falshoods* into the Mouth of Majesty, 247.

P.

Palatine (*Electors*) his Case in the Reign of King James the first, 155.

Panegyrick (on Cardinal *W—*) 133.

Parallels ; the use of them, 175.

Pardo (Convention of) some Account of it, 292.

Peace, how it differs from a *Truce*, 4—Farther Observations upon it, in Answer to the *British* and *London Journals*, 30—Those Observations defended by *John Trot*, 48.

Parker (Bishop of *Oxford*) an Advocate for arbitrary Power, 187.

Pensions ; a Discourse upon them, 22—The Difference between a *Bribe* and a *Pension*, 23 — The modern Method of granting them, 24 — *Pensioners* a sort of over-grown *Charity Children*, *ib.*—The Mischief of numerous *Pensions* amongst the *Rich*, 25—An Expostulation with a *rich Pensioner*, 27 — The Conduct of a *Pensioner* in Parliament, 183 — A Speech of Sir *Charles Sidley* against them, 209.

Persuasion ; recommended to our *Admirals*, 203.

Places (at Court) the bad Consequences of them, 183 — Sir *Charles Sidley's* Speech against them, 209.

Plantations (*British*) the Hardship of their Condition, 9—The Advantage of them to this Kingdom, 53 — Reflections on the *Dutch* and *French* Plantations, 99—How they are encourag'd, 101—How ours are discourag'd, 102.

Politicians ; Orator *Henley's* Description of Them, 169.

Politeness (of the *English Nation*) vindicated, 201.

Post-Office (General) the Clerks of it prohibited to send the *Craftsman* into the Country, 16.

Press ;

The INDEX.

Press; the *Liberty* of it stated; with some Reflections on the Arguments made use of against it, 12—The *Restraints*, which are already put upon it, 15—The *Liberty* of it asserted by the *Author of the Enquiry*, &c. 256.

Pretender; the *secret Engagement* in his Favour, said to be taken by the *Vienna Allies*, vanishes away, 245—Some ridiculous Circumstances in his Favour, mention'd in the *Enquiry*, 257—Farther Remarks on the *secret Engagement* in his Favour, 264.

Prison (Fleet) the Miseries of it under Mr. *Bambridge's* Administration, 218.

Prosecutions (of the *Crown*) a Restraint on the *Liberty of the Press*, 15.

Protestants (*French*) a noble Instance of Charity to Them, granted by *Parliament*, in the Reign of King *William* the 3d, 25—Some Reflections upon it, *ibid.*

Publicola; some Observations on his Paper against *Raleigh*, 38—Farther Reflections on it, 47—An Answer to Him at large, 57—Some Account of the Family of the *Publicolæ*, and their Manner of Writing; *ib.*—Remarks on one of his Papers by Mr. *D'Anvers*, 159—How He gives up the Author of the *Enquiry* in the Case of the *Ostend Trade*, 262—An Answer to Him by *John Trot*, 277.

R.

R *Aleighb* (Mr.) his Letter to the *Craftsman*, upon Treaties of *Peace* and *Truce*, 1—A second Letter to the same, in Defence of the *first*, against some Objections published in the *British Journal*, 30—His Observations on the *London Journal*, 38—His Vindication of the Earl *Stanhope* against that Writer, *ibid.*—Defended by *John Trot*, 47—Farther defended, by the same Author, against the *London Journal*,
D d 2

The INDEX

- Journal*, 57 — His Observations on the *British Journal*, 123 — His Remarks on Queen Elizabeth's Reign, 134 — His Reflections on the Conduct and Writings of the *British Journal*, 142 — His Remarks on the Reign of King James the first, 152 — His Letter to Mr. D'Anvers, upon the Conduct of the famous *Dutch Pensionary, De Wit*, 175 — His Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain*, &c. 231, &c. — Defended by *John Trot*, 277.
- Remora* ; Orator *Henley's* Account of that wonderful Fish, 169.
- Reprizals* (*Letters of*) the Nature and Advantages of them, 7 — Remarks on the Reasons given for not granting them to our Merchants, 238.
- Rica* ; his Letter to *Usbeck*, containing an Account of the Island *Grimbagria*, 225.
- Richelieu* (Cardinal) his Policy and Management of England, 190.
- Rufe* (Mr. *de la*) his Account of the Conduct of England in the Reign of King *Charles the first*, 189.

S.

- S** *Amos* (the King of) abused by wicked Ministers, 41 — How He was releas'd from them, *ib.*
- Sanchoniathon* ; a Fragment of that Writer, 41.
- Schabrigg* (the Tumbler) sent on an Embassy, 228 — His Conduct, *ib.*
- Scots* ; how favour'd and encourag'd in the Reign of King *James the first*, 154.
- Sejanus* (the Tragedy so call'd) why not acted, 165.
- Shamgrigg* (the Prime Minister of *Grimbagria*) some Account of his Conduct, 227.
- Sidley* (Sir *Charles*) his Speech against *Pensions and Places*, 209.
- Soissons* ; Remarks on the Negotiations there, 239.
- Sophy* (the Tragedy so call'd) why not acted, 166.

The INDEX.

- South-Sea (Company)* the Case of it, with Regard to *Spain*, 197—The Case of their *Ship, Prince Frederick* consider'd, 295.
- Spain*; the Reasons of our Differences with that Court examin'd, 65—Their Pretensions to *Gibraltar*, 66—The Destruction of their Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, 70—Our Refusal of the *sole Mediation* between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, 75—Private Treaty of *Madrid* in 1721, 76—Sending back the *Infanta* from *France*, 77—The Finesses of that Court in restoring the Ship *Prince Frederick*, according to Treaty, 197—Our Civility to the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, 205—Reflections of the *Jacobites* on that Occasion, *ib.*—How she influenc'd *England* in the Reign of King *James the first*, 216—Remarks on the Depredations of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, 232—The Case of the *Infanta* being sent back from *France*, and our refusing the *sole Mediation* between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, farther consider'd, 272—Their Pretensions to *Gibraltar* farther consider'd, 285.
- Speeches* (from the Throne) ought to be strictly conformable to Truth, 246.
- Spies*; their Office and Conduct describ'd, 184.
- Stag*; the Fable of the *Horse* and *Stag* apply'd, 37.
- Stage (Theatrical)* the Design of it, 162—A Project for regulating it, *ib.*
- Stamp (Duty)* a Restraint on the *Liberty of the Press*, 15—The Revenue of it considerably increased by the *Craftsman*, 16.
- Stanhope* (the late Earl of) vindicated against an Imputation in the *London Journal*, 38, 66, 289.
- Star-Chamber*; the Proceedings of that Court recommended as *Precedents*, 17.

The INDEX.

T.

- T***Assø*; his Character of *Mopsus*, 285.
Tell-Truth (Tom) his Observations on Abuses of Government; address'd to King James the first, 212.
Temple (Sir William) his Character of the famous Pensionary, *De Wit*, examin'd, 176.
Tonnage (of Shipping) some Reflections upon the Increase of it, 111.
Tools (Court) what, 182 — A Discourse upon them, *ibid*.
Trade; the Advantage of it to this Kingdom, 52— How we are to judge of the *Increase* and *Decrease* of it, 110— Our peculiar Disadvantages, in that particular, explain'd, 196.
Treaty (provisional) some Remarks upon it, 239.
Trot (John) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, in Defence of *Raleigh*, against the *London Journal*, 47 — His second Letter to the same, in Answer to the *London Journal* of Saturday, Dec. 21st, 1728, 57—His third Letter to the same, in Answer to the Defence of the Enquiry, &c. 253.
Truce; a Dissertation upon that Kind of *Treaties*, 1— How it differs from a *Peace*, 4— Farther Observations upon it, in Answer to the *British* and *London Journals*, 30 — Those Observations defended by *John Trot*, 48—Farther Remarks on such *Treaties*, 239.

U.

- U***Sbeck*; *Rica's* Letter to Him, containing an Account of the Island of *Grimbragria*, 225.
Venality (of Offices) the Mischiefs of it, 219.
Kienna (the Treaty of) some Account of the Motives to it, 39—The same Subject examin'd more at large, 65—Our *Politeness* in not resenting the dangerous Designs

The INDEX

Designs of it, 202—Some Remarks on the pretend-
ed *secret Articles* of it, 243—Farther Remarks up-
on them, 260—The Case of that Treaty stated at
large by *John Trot*, in answer to the *Defence of the*
Enquiry, 268.

Villars (George, Duke of *Buckingham*) impeach'd for
not guarding the Seas, 8—An Account of his Con-
duct, and how He was manag'd by Cardinal *Richelieu*, 191.

W.

W—(Cardinal) a Panegyrick on Him, 133.
Wager (Sir *Charles*) some Remarks on his
Instructions, dated Dec. 22d 1726, 235—285.

West-Indies; our Conduct there commended, 6—And
That of the *Spaniards* condemn'd, *ib.*—Our Con-
duct farther justified, 232—Remarks on it, *ib.*

Winchester (Marquis of) his Speech to Queen *Eliza-*
beth against the Lord *Burleigh*, 91.

Wolfey (Cardinal) an Account of his Conduct by the Lord
Burleigh, 147—An *Epigram*, to a certain Gentle-
man, who takes the Character of *that Cardinal* to
Himself, 174—A Commission to one of his *Spies*,
185.

Writers (Court) An Account of their Conduct, 186.

F I N I S.





UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

REC'D LD-URL
OCT 8 0 1979
OCT 30 1979



3 1158 00341 4710



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

A 000 017 976 2

